

*Immigrant Group
Settlements
in
Paraguay*

Joseph Winfield Fretz

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<i>Number</i>		<i>Name of Settlement</i>
	<i>Asuncion Area</i>	
1.		Nuevo Bordeaux
2.		Lincolnshire
3.		Neuva Italia
4.		Colonia Elisa
5.		San Bernardino
6.		La Colmena
	<i>Alto Paraguay</i>	
7.		Trinacria
8.		Chingui and Rosa Loma
9.		Teutonia or Horqueta
10.		Primaveria
11.		Nueva Germania
12.		Friesland
13.		Volendam
14.		Pedro Juan Caballero
	<i>Villarricia</i>	
15.		Independencia
16.		Carlos Pfannl
17.		Sudetia
18.		Nueva Australia
	<i>Alto Parana</i>	
19.		Hohenau
20.		Capitan Meza
21.		Obligado
22.		Bella Vista
23.		Jesus and Trinidad
24.		Fram
25.		Alborada
26.		Frederico Chaves
27.		San Miguel
28.		Cambyreta
	<i>Caaguazu</i>	
29.		Bergthal
30.		Sommerfeld
	<i>The Chaco</i>	
31.		Menno
32.		Fernheim
33.		Neuland

Map Showing Location of Group Settlements in Paraguay

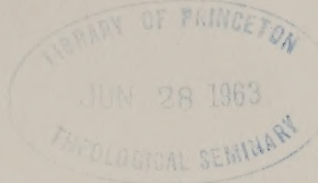


Immigrant Group Settlements in Paraguay

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Immigrant Group Settlements In Paraguay

*A Study in the Sociology
of Colonization*

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BETHEL COLLEGE
NORTH NEWTON, KANSAS

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TO MY PARENTS:

J. Clarence and Ella Landis Fretz

Preface

THIS STUDY WAS undertaken with the intention of satisfying both a theoretical and a practical problem. The theoretical concern had to do with the examination of some hypotheses about effective group settlement efforts. The study afforded me ample opportunity to explore these theoretical aspects and in my own mind confirm in part my hypotheses. A question that has repeatedly been asked is why Latin America with its millions of fertile acres did not attract European and Asiatic immigrants as has North America over the past century. My hypotheses were that such immigrants could be attracted if the following conditions were met:

1. That immigrants be permitted to settle in colonies if they preferred to do so;
2. That immigrant ethnic groups if allowed to develop according to their own genius tend to be a national asset;
3. That settlement in ethnic groups tends to prevent personal and social disorganization of group members.
4. That immigrant ethnic groups if given freedom to develop their own sub-culture, will eventually tend to assimilate with the national culture.

A second purpose of the study was to provide reliable sociological data about the experiences and the problems of Asiatic and European ethnic groups which have settled in Paraguay. Finally, the study was to indicate the possibilities for additional immigration and group settlement in this fascinating little country in the heart of South America.

I am deeply indebted to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for its generous grant which made possible the study and the necessary travel and residence in South America in connection with it. It also was a privilege to be the first

Preface

holder of an advanced research grant in Paraguay under the Fulbright Act. These grants permitted my wife, Marguerite, and three of our children, Steve, Tom and Sara, to share in the enriching experience of travel and living among friendly people in new lands and unfamiliar cultures.

Special thanks are due to Dr. Theodoria Zayas, Director of the Instituto de Reforma Agraria, to Dr. Crispin Insaurrealdi, Rector of the University of Asuncion, Dr. H. Gonzalez Maya, Dean of the Faculty of Economics, and Dr. Maria Olmedo, Professor of Sociology at the University of Asuncion, and to Bastiaan W. Haveman, Director, Inter-governmental Committee on European Migration, for their helpful assistance. Mr. George L. Warren, Advisor to the State Department on Refugees, offered constant encouragement to undertake the study and graciously consented to write the introduction to the volume. I am also deeply indebted to the Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration for its financial support in assuring the printing of this volume.

A special word of gratitude is due to the leaders of the various colonies who spared no efforts to provide essential data necessary for this study. Among these were David Reimer of Menno, Peter Derksen of Neuland, Alfred Fast of Friesland, and Carlos Memmel of Colony Obligado. I was fortunate to secure the excellent services of Andreas Balzer and Peter Klassen, Fernheim colony schoolteachers, who provided assistance in gathering and interpreting research materials. William Snyder, Executive Secretary and Frank J. Wiens, Paraguayan Director of the Mennonite Central Committee, were generous in providing every facility of this agency whenever called upon. Thanks are also due to the Mennonite Central Committee and the Mennonite Historical Library at Bethel College for their generous use of photographs.

As always those who write books are dependent upon the faithful services of competent secretaries. I should like to express gratitude to LaVera Goering, Carol Dyck, and Kathleen Goering, who at various stages and in many different ways contributed painstaking hours to see that the manuscript advanced toward publication.

North Newton, Kansas
July 2, 1962

J. Winfield Fretz

Foreword

SETTLEMENT ON THE land in Latin America has been and remains a constant attraction and challenge to different cultural, racial, religious and commercial groups of old world immigrants under economic, political or other pressures to seek new homelands overseas. The appeal of eventually owning one's own land in a less rigid and stratified economy has constituted one of the lures over the years to those who wisely or unwisely have often assumed that because land was comparatively cheap, success in agriculture in the new land would be automatically assured. These pioneers have matched their skills, courage, endurance and limited funds singlehandedly and in groups against the forces of nature, of alien cultures and the hard facts of economic existence.

The search for opportunities for resettlement of Europe's refugees, beginning in the 1930s and continuing until the present day, has invariably included consideration of the wide open spaces which seemingly need only willing hands to bring them into active production. Reliable cost estimates of such projects have been difficult to come by. Leaders who could command the following of potential settlers were difficult to find. Participation in agricultural cooperatives required discipline on the part of the immigrant groups. The absence of community facilities was always a hazard. Cultural differences played a significant role. Other opportunities of a livelihood often attracted potential settlers away to surer and more immediate income in the cities.

In spite of obstacles, governments, inter-governmental and private organizations have maintained interest in land settlement possibilities. That European settlers with know-how can succeed under certain conditions in settling on the land in Latin America has been demonstrated. Not enough is known, however, concerning the essential conditions and requirements for success in settling people on the land.

New awareness of the desperate need for settling indigenous natives on the land in Latin America has reawakened interest in the problems of group settlement and the techniques of cooperatives in agriculture. Well more than one-half of the workers in Latin America are employed in agriculture. However, agriculture accounts for considerably less than one-half of the total output. There is great need for increased productivity in agriculture and a necessity for demonstration, given availability of land, to prove to the native settler that a good living can be secured from the land if the latest techniques in agriculture and marketing are applied. Whether European and indigenous settlers in the light of developed experience can be organized together into cooperatives and viable resettlement groups is the question of the moment which urgently requires further exploration. Up to date European settlers in Latin America have been solely interested in their own economic well-being and have lived and worked in isolation from the native community.

This study of the experience of the immigrant settlements in Paraguay—of successes and failures, of cultural differences and economic problems—will contribute substantially to the badly needed data on this challenging question.

George L. Warren

Advisor on Refugee and Migration Affairs
Department of State

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The Sociological Setting of this Study

*Geography and Climate*¹

THE REPUBLIC OF Paraguay situated in the south central part of South America has a total area of 157,000 square miles, or about the area of the state of California. The Paraguay River, which empties into the Parana River, divides the country from north to south into two sections—the Chaco to the west with an area of 95,300 square miles and Eastern Paraguay with an area of 61,700 square miles. Paraguay is a landlocked country bounded on the east by Argentina and Brazil, on the south by Argentina, on the west by Bolivia and Argentina, and on the north by Bolivia and Brazil. The country is crossed by the Tropic of Capricorn and lies roughly between south latitude 19 and 27 degrees and west longitude 55 and 62 degrees. About half of the country is located in the temperate zone and half in the torrid zone.

Western Paraguay, composed entirely of the territory known as the Gran Chaco, is a part of a larger geographical area extending into northern Argentina and southern Bolivia. The Chaco is thought by geologists to have been at one time the bed of an inland sea. It comprises a low, undulating plain with a maximum recorded elevation of 754 feet above sea level. The Chaco is drained by sluggish, unnavigable rivers which generally drain into the Paraguay River, and contains vast stretches of grass and woodlands. From forested areas in the central Chaco extending west from the Paraguay River comes most of the country's quebracho extract. The 115,000 square-miles area of the Paraguayan Chaco makes it a little larger than twice the size of the state of Illinois. It is an area covered with an almost impenetrable growth of scrub trees, spiny shrubs, and cacti,

¹*Basic Data on the Economy of Paraguay* (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, May, 1958).

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with occasional swampy meadows and open campos. In dry periods, the Chaco is hot and dusty; and in wet periods, it is muddy making the roads difficult to travel.

Paraguay, although an old country, has most of its land area still undeveloped. The Missions District in the south is an important grazing area. Farther up the alto (upper) Parana River in southeastern Paraguay lies a heavily forested area with fertile soil. This region possesses excellent agricultural potentialities. It contains a number of agricultural settlements which produce yerba mate, corn, sorghum, cotton, tung, nuts, and vegetables as well as lumber.²

Eastern Paraguay, consisting of 61,709 square miles making it a little larger than the state of Iowa, is about half covered with deciduous hardwoods. The area lies between the Paraguay and the alto Parana rivers. It is rolling country with swamp land in some of the low lying river areas, fertile plains, and maximum altitudes of approximately 2,000 feet in the ranges of hills in the northeast and east central regions.

Two-thirds of Eastern Paraguay lies in the temperate zone, but the climate approximates that found in sub-tropical regions. The greater part of the Chaco is in the torrid zone. Paraguay's cool season is from May until September, with temperatures that average 65 to 75 degrees Fahrenheit. Temperatures as low as 32 degrees are reported only in the southern and upland sections of the country. The summer season is from October through April, the hottest weather occurring from December through February when temperatures frequently exceed 100 degrees throughout the country.

Rainfall averages about 80 inches per year along the eastern boundary and gradually diminishes as one moves westward to 47 inches along the Paraguay River. Over the fifteen-year period from 1934 to 1949, the rainfall in the Fernheim colony, which is in the north central Chaco, averaged 28.33 inches. During this period, the highest precipitation in any single year (1941) was 43 inches, while in 1948 there were only 18 inches.³

²*Agricultural Progress in Paraguay* (Washington, D. C.: The Institute of Latin-American Affairs, June, 1947).

³Joseph Winfield Fretz, *Pilgrims in Paraguay* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1953), p. 4.

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Rainfall is lightest during the months from April through September and heaviest from October through March. The total annual amount of rainfall in Paraguay is generally adequate for agricultural purposes, even in the Chaco. The country's problem is one of poor rainfall distribution throughout the year and tremendous variation from year to year.

The vast Chaco area has been explored very little to date. Thus, there is not much reliable detailed information about the geographic characteristics and natural resources of the Chaco. The present construction of the 400 kilometer Trans-Chaco Highway will provide valuable geographical information. The best known wood produced in the Chaco is the quebracho, from which tannin is extracted and exported in large quantities. Palo Santo (holy wood), from which liquid is extracted for perfume and soaps, is also produced in significant amounts.

Transportation and Roads

THE CHIEF MEANS of transportation in Paraguay is the Paraguay River. It is the main freight artery and passenger traffic route within the country. Up until 1950, 87 per cent of the country's international transportation was by river and 13 per cent by rail.⁴

The Paraguay Central Railway Company Limited, a British owned firm, is the one major land freight and passenger carrier in the country. It serves a 274-mile stretch between the cities of Asuncion and Encarnacion and makes direct connection with Buenos Aires. In addition to this road are seven privately owned narrow guage roads, ranging in length from 20 to 125 miles, which are used for industrial purposes—largely by the lumbering industries extending inland to the Chaco to the west of the Paraguay River.

Until 1959, in all of Paraguay there were only about 60 miles of blacktop road. However, road building progress is being made as a national highway system is being developed.⁵ It is intended to consist of seven principal routes plus a special Trans-Chaco Highway. These routes are to be connecting roads which will join the principal centers of population, and link some of

⁴*The Transportation Problem of Paraguay* (Washington, D. C.: The Institute of Latin American Affairs, 1952), p. 13.

⁵*Basic Data on the Economy of Paraguay*, *op. cit.*

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them with Asuncion and possibly with border towns in southern Brazil and northern Argentina as well as eastern Bolivia. At the present stage of development, the system has approximately 700 miles of improved highways of which 300 miles have a gravel rock base, 90 miles are ordinary gravel, about 265 miles are dirt, and only 60 miles are asphalt surfaced. In addition, Paraguay has approximately 3600 miles of unimproved roads or trails suitable only for animal carts or jeep-type vehicles.

Of the seven principal routes, the first links Asuncion with Encarnacion. This route, which more or less parallels the tracks of the Paraguayan Central Railway passes through a fertile agricultural and livestock region.

Route No. 2 originally extended east from Asuncion to Villarrica and connected with the city of Coronel Oviedo. An extension of this highway eastward from Coronel Oviedo has been built through the town of Caaguazu and between the Mennonite colonies of Bergthal and Sommerfeld to a point on the Parana River recently designated as Puerto Presidente Stroessner. Here a large bridge is being built across the river to connect with a Brazilian road leading to the city of Curitiba and the seaport city of Paranagua. This extension is being developed in co-operation with the Brazilian Government and will provide a major means of transporting exports from Paraguay. The road will open this sparsely populated area which is rich in forest resources and potential electric power. The Brazilian Government has guaranteed the Paraguayan Government free port facilities at Paranagua.

Route No. 3 runs northeast from Asuncion and as projected will go through a number of Paraguayan towns and terminate at Capitan Bodo on the Brazilian border.

Route No. 4 connects the Paraguayan river port of Pilar with San Ignacio where it merges with Route No. 1. Route No. 5 links Concepcion, the second largest port of Paraguay on the Paraguay River, with Pedro Juan Cabellero, situated along Paraguay's northeastern border with Brazil and opposite the Brazilian town of Punta Pora which is connected by railway facilities to Sao Paulo. The road has a total length of approximately 165 miles.

Route No. 6 is projected to run north-northeast from Encar-

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nacion in a line roughly parallel to the Parana River up to Hernanderias. The highway is completed northward to the German colony of Hohenau as far as Capitan Mesa about 50 miles from Encarnacion. Route No. 7, in the projection stage, is to originate at Caagazu, a point on the proposed extension of Route No. 2, and extend northward to Igatimi where it will turn east and terminate at the Parana River opposite Puerto Guaria.

A special highway project of major interest to the Paraguayan Government is the construction of the Trans-Chaco Highway. This was completed late in 1961, and is to be a section of the Pan-American Highway system which is ultimately to extend from Asuncion to the Bolivian border, passing Chaco Mennonite colonies and the military station, Mariscal Estigarribia, farther to the northwest. It was built co-operatively by the Paraguayan and the United States Governments, the Chaco Ranchers Association, and the Mennonite Central Committee (a North American world-wide relief and service organization).

The importance of air transportation to Paraguay is evident when one reflects on its landlocked position. It has a modern airport at Asuncion which was recently improved to be suitable for jet landings. Paraguay is connected with the outside world by six air carriers. There are three national flag carriers operating domestic services. Perhaps the most important is Trans Porte Aero Militair (known as TAM) which operates passenger planes between Asuncion and Pedro Juan Cabellero five times a week and between Asuncion and Filadelfia twice a week, plus freight planes that make weekly flights.

History and Government⁶

PARAGUAY, ONE OF the oldest of the twenty Latin American republics, has one of the most interesting histories even if it is one of the least known of all Latin American countries. The

⁶Elman R. Service and Helen S. Service, *Tobati: Paraguayan Town* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), Chapter 2.

See also Harris Gaylord Warren, *Paraguay* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949).

See also George Pendle, *Paraguay: A Riverside Nation* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1956).

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clare its independence from Spain, dating its separation back to 1811. Paraguay's remote geographical location has accounted in part for its long history of suspicion of all foreigners and its consequent efforts to insulate itself from outside influence. These facts also created favorable situations for dictators to rise to power and to maintain themselves in a somewhat isolated relationship to the outside world. During the greater part of the nineteenth century, Paraguay's political history was dominated by a succession of three dictators. Dr. Jose Gaspar Rodriguez Francia, generally known by the title "El Supremo," ruled with an iron hand from 1814 to 1840. He was succeeded by Carlos Antonio Lopez, who ruled until 1862. At this time he was succeeded by his son Francisco Solano Lopez, who ruled until his death in 1870, at the end of the so-called War of the Triple Alliance between Paraguay, Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. Since that time Paraguay has been ruled by a series of dictators.

Language and Race⁷

THE ETHNOLOGICAL PICTURE in Paraguay is both interesting and unique. In no other South American country has the Spanish influence of Europe been so swallowed up and absorbed by the native Indian population as in Paraguay. European intellectuals were far less successful in influencing the adoption of European customs than they were elsewhere. For centuries the Paraguayan people were isolated from the outside world. Immediately after the discovery of Paraguay, early Spanish settlers and the Guaraní Indians began the formation of a new racial mixture which unlike such mixtures in certain other countries, survived to become homogeneous. Today, Paraguay has only a few pure whites, and only in the most remote districts can pure Indians still be found. The majority of Paraguayans are a mixture of Indian and white. They are the only people in the western hemisphere to whom two languages, Spanish and the aboriginal tongue, Guaraní, are of equal importance. Guar-

⁷Service and Service, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-48.

See also Pendle, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

See also Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-33.

See also Flavio E. Cabrera, "An Extinct Race and Its Still Living Languages," unpublished manuscript, United States Cultural Center Library, Asuncion, Paraguay.

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country was discovered almost by accident by Spanish explorers, generally known as conquistadors. They were searching for a short route to the Inca gold by following the wide mouth of the Rio de La Plata and the Parana rivers. In a northward course, these explorers landed in what now is known as Paraguay. Who first saw the land of Paraguay is a debatable question, although most historians agree that Paraguay was discovered sometime between 1521 and 1524 by Alejo Garcia, a Portuguese survivor of an early expedition. The capital city of the country, Asuncion, was established in 1537, some 70 years before the first permanent English settlement in the New World at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607.

The story of Paraguay's political history is an almost continuous account of wars and revolutions and consequent poverty—a sequence partially to be accounted for by the country's geographical location. During the colonial period, the inhabitants, isolated in the center of the South American mainland, were constantly subject to attacks by the surrounding Indian tribes, especially the Mamelucos of southern Brazil.

Because they were so far removed from the ports along the coast of the new continent, they received very little assistance from Spain in the developing years of the country.

An important influence upon the early history of Paraguay was the phenomenal work of the zealous Roman Catholic religious order of the Jesuits. Their achievements among native Guarani Indians were among the most important aspects of sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish colonial development. The first Jesuits came to Paraguay in 1586. Seven years later they established a school at Asuncion. This was followed by the erection of numerous missions in the eastern part of the country, established for the purpose of converting and civilizing the natives. The Jesuits taught the Indians agriculture and introduced them to a form of village life, commonly referred to as "reducciones."

In the war for emancipation from control by Spain, some of the first moves toward independence were made in Paraguay. Time and again Spanish crown representatives were ignored or removed from office in this Spanish possession. Paraguay was one of the first of the Latin American countries to de-

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ani is used in the home, in the school, in poetry, in song, and even in newspapers. There is great pride in the Guarani language.

The mixing of races began when the conquistadors stopped at Asuncion and made it a way station to the riches of the Andes. The friendly Indians are said to have offered their wives and daughters as a gesture of friendship. The same thing happened in other parts of the world, but usually the Indian and his racial characteristics soon disappeared or else he became the despised peon of the upper classes. Not so in Paraguay. Irala, the first great colonial governor in Paraguay, encouraged miscegenation. The Guarani woman, more handsome than the women of other tribes, soon became part of each household. She was mistress, worker, mother, companion, and slave. The mixed character of the Paraguayan nation was uninterrupted in its process of development for 250 years. After the death of the first governor, Irala, there was no violent revolution within nor influx of foreign elements from without to affect or change the national character.

Paraguayans became mentally ingrown, suspicious of foreigners and everything foreign. They are still as nearly a purely agricultural people as remains anywhere in what is called the civilized world today.⁸ But Paraguayans do not seem to have the natural attachment to any particular plot of land although they are strongly nationalistic. They move away from their homesteads without any seeming remorse or regret. This does not mean that they do not love their country. It merely means that they are not attached to any *particular* parcel of land. The Paraguayan is not strongly possessive about land. His heritage from the semi-nomadic life of the aboriginal Guarani Indian and the communitarian society of the Jesuits seems still to show.

The typical Paraguayan is described as having an easy life at home. This seeming "tropical" laziness is actually the result of different values. Physical labor is not considered particularly honorable, and contentment with his lot has generally kept him from significant accomplishments. The great Chaco war hero of 1932, General Estigarribia, said of his people: "Constructive capacity is not a tradition with them; moreover, the Paraguayan

⁸Service and Service, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-82.

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lacks stability, constructive desire, and the will to build. He is content with very little."

*The Economy*⁹

THE ECONOMY OF Paraguay is based predominantly on agriculture, livestock, and forest exploitation. The small industrial segment of the economy is largely limited to production of wood, cattle, cotton, and other agricultural products. Manufacturing accounts for less than 15 per cent of the national income whereas the collective total of agriculture, livestock, and forestry enterprises traditionally amounts to more than 40 per cent. Much of the farming is of a subsistence nature conducted on a small scale by relatively isolated families. No accurate records are kept and statistics are generally unavailable.

Traditionally the economy of Paraguay has been heavily dependent on Argentina but this situation is less true now than in the past. Argentina is still an important trading partner of Paraguay and the largest of the private foreign investors. However, the United States' sources of capital, both private and governmental, are becoming steadily larger and more important to Paraguay. In 1954, for instance, exports to the United States exceeded those to Argentina by over 100 million guaranies, and imports from the United States that same year were almost double those from Argentina. Beginning in 1957, United States' private interests began to make substantial investments, especially those directed toward the exploration of petroleum deposits in the Chaco region in northwestern Paraguay.

Paraguay continues to be dependent on water routes to the Atlantic Ocean through Argentina, but this dependence upon a single channel of access to the outside is expected to decrease since the construction of the new highway to and through Brazil, giving Paraguay free access to facilities at the Brazilian port of Paranagua. Also, the Trans-Chaco route leading to Bolivia is expected to make Bolivian petroleum resources available to Paraguay and stimulate trade with Bolivia in general. These

⁹Philip Raine, *Paraguay* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1956).

See also *Basic Data on the Economy of Paraguay*, *op. cit.*

See also Anuario Estadístico De La Republica Del Paraguay 1948-1953, Asuncion, Paraguay.

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developments, coupled with Paraguay's relaxing of controls of foreign exchange and international trade—a step fostered by the International Monetary Fund—should have a combined effect that will lessen Paraguay's economic dependence upon Argentina.

According to the latest agricultural census, approximately 55 per cent of the economically active population was classified as farmers, hunters, lumbermen, and fishermen.¹⁰ It is generally agreed that Paraguay's principal economic requirement is the expansion of agricultural production. This would furnish immediate basis for additional exports which in turn would help pay for essential imports such as petroleum products. It would also be conducive to a gradually rising standard of living. It is significant for our study to note that Paraguay's successful colonists have contributed significantly toward agricultural production. The government of Paraguay has recognized for a long time the need for increased agricultural production. For this reason it has encouraged foreign immigration, but without much success.

According to the 1950-51 Paraguayan national census, it was estimated that the total area of the Republic consisted of 100,000,000 acres. Of this a little less than 1,000,000 acres in 1950 was devoted to crop cultivation, 40,000,000 acres to cattle grazing, and 54,000,000 acres to forests, leaving over a million acres in wasteland.¹¹ All of this points out dramatically that a very small portion of the total land area in Paraguay is devoted to food production, actually less than 4 per cent, and most of that is, by modern standards, highly inefficient.

Along with other Latin American republics, the economy of Paraguay is underdeveloped and in need of additional human and financial resources to exploit its natural wealth as well as to stimulate the increased manufacture and trade of products already produced. In short, Paraguay is one of the emerging countries in need of economic, social, and cultural development.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Basic Data on the Economy of Paraguay, op. cit.*, p. 5.

2

Paraguay As An Immigration Country

IN THE PRECEDING chapter we discussed the general characteristics of Paraguay as an immigration country in which to establish new group settlements. In this chapter we wish to look at the laws of the country pertaining to this subject. A country's regulatory laws reflect its official attitudes toward particular social practices. Official attitudes and public opinion may change so completely that the old laws no longer accurately reflect either current public opinion or official government attitudes. Such laws, although obsolete, can seldom be ignored because they continue to have an effect on contemporary social practices.

Paraguay for the past century has been, and still is, in need of additional immigrant population. Although it is classified as an underdeveloped country, it is not like many other countries in this category—lacking in natural resources or suffering from overpopulation. Paraguay is a land with vast areas of fertile soil and numerous underdeveloped natural resources, but the country lacks the population necessary for the proper development of such resources. It needs especially the supervisory skills and the industriousness which foreigners can bring to the economic and cultural life of a country. Many Paraguayan nationals need, and want, the stimulus of immigrants to motivate them through education and by personal example. Many are ready to be stirred from their traditional ways and their binding customs.

Despite Paraguay's long history of geographical isolation and its cultivated policy of limited trade and social intercourse with people outside its own borders, its people are intelligent, eager to learn, and friendly to immigrants and visitors. A United States trade commissioner in Paraguay in 1920 described the Paraguayan common man well when he said:

“In judging the native Paraguayan in this capacity there must be taken into account his peculiar racial characteristics

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and the special circumstances of his country's history. His defects are largely those of a people whose industrial development on a modern scale has only recently begun, as a consequence of which it is difficult to fit him into the new order of things without a certain amount of friction. Thus he is weak on the side of originality and initiative and lacks steadiness and a sense of responsibility. His average net productivity is markedly lower than that of the labor force of older countries. He averages high enough in natural intelligence to satisfy the ordinary demands of a labor force, but in only a small minority is this intelligence trained. He is apt at imitating and with a little training makes a very good machinist. The fields in which the Paraguayan particularly excels are the care of cattle and horses and working in timber."¹

An American engineer who had worked in nine different foreign countries including fifteen years in Latin America, when in charge of several thousand Paraguayan laborers in connection with installing a water system for the city of Asuncion claimed that after gaining experience the Paraguayans were the best workers he had found. His summary was: "They are not skilled but they are willing."² This engineer pointed out that Paraguay needed a great many more skilled laborers and technicians to develop the few basic industries that are now found in the country. He pointed out that the majority of skilled men employed on his particular engineering project were immigrants from northern Europe, chiefly Germans and Russians who had entered Paraguay some years earlier.

Throughout Paraguay's long history, the only kind of immigrants welcomed were those willing to devote themselves to agriculture and livestock raising. There was actually little opportunity for either the unskilled laborer or the specialized professional. The foreigner's high standard of living made him unwilling to compete with the Paraguayan manual worker. There was generally some demand for specialized mechanics and other skilled laborers, but in view of the underdeveloped industrial side of the national economy, only a few such workers were needed to fill that branch of the labor market.

¹W. L. Schurz, *Paraguay, A Commercial Handbook* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), p. 128.

²E. K. G. Borjesson, personal interview.

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Paraguay as a Field for Immigration

As a field for immigration Paraguay has always been at a serious disadvantage because of its geographical isolation. Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay generally drained off much of the flow of immigrants from Europe before they reached the interior of the Paraguayan Republic. For one thing, there was the handicap of the added expense for the passage of immigrants up the river from Buenos Aires to Asuncion. The Paraguayan government, even if it wanted to help the immigrants financially, often lacked the funds to do so. The extra fare, so far as the impoverished immigrant was concerned, was often the barrier that kept him from making the journey. The competitors in the neighboring countries could offer more immediate jobs at better pay, and the immigrant was likely to be closer to other immigrants of his kind. If he desired to bring his family out from Europe or even return himself if he didn't like South America, he was closer to his native homeland. In Argentina and Uruguay he also found better transportation facilities to market his crops, a sounder monetary system, and assurance of more stable political conditions. His children had access to better schools than existed in rural Paraguay, and the country as a whole enjoyed a higher living standard.

There were, however, some advantages which Paraguay could offer to the immigrants to counterbalance at least Argentina's superiority. First, there was an abundance of fertile soil in many parts of Paraguay available free or at a low cost. Second, there was a favorable climate in that it was mild or warm most of the year in contrast to Europe's more severe winters which brought with them attendant housing problems for the poor. Besides an abundance of fruits and vegetables provided an inexpensive food supply. Good farm and cattle lands which had been partially improved could be bought at much lower prices in Paraguay than in Argentina and Uruguay. Paraguay also offered certain attractions by way of social and religious freedoms that were attractive to idealistic social and religious groups and economic and political refugees who wished to settle in colonies. Many such groups looked with favor upon the more isolated areas of Paraguay as a desirable place in which to establish their group way of life and remain undis-

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turbed by the agitation of the more highly populated and industrialized societies of the world.³

Thus, Paraguay presented both advantages and disadvantages to prospective immigrants. Through the years it has often been a country of second and third choice so far as immigrants were concerned.⁴ Many times individuals and groups chose to come to Paraguay as a last resort rather than as a first choice. Subsequent discussion will throw additional light on this statement.

Government Policy on Immigration and Colonization

Paraguayan governmental authority over immigration and colonization today rests in the hands of the Institute of Agrarian Reform, commonly referred to as IRA. In the early part of the century, authority over this matter lay in the Office of Land and Colonies (*Oficina de Tierras y Colonias*). This department had earlier been attached to the Ministry of Foreign Relations in order to make possible close co-ordination with the national welfare of the country.

Although Paraguay is called a republic, it has actually been governed during most of its lifetime (since 1811) as an independent country by politically self-appointed dictators rather than by freely elected presidents. Probably because of this, most of the official government pronouncements regulating immigration and colonization have been presidential decrees with the status of law rather than legislation enacted by the national parliament. Out of eleven official government pronouncements regulating immigration and colonization since 1924, eight were presidential decrees and three were legislative enactments.

Paraguayan legislation, although based on the principle of nondiscrimination, tends by tradition to discourage certain racial groups from settling in the country. The first immigration law⁵ specifically prohibited the admission of persons belonging to the yellow and black races. This prohibition, however, was sub-

³Nueva Germania, Nueva Australia, and the Menno colony all seem to have chosen Paraguay because of its combination offer of social freedom and geographical isolation.

⁴Fernheim, Volendam, and Neuland colonies all preferred Canada, the United States, or some other country to Paraguay as first choice as a country in which to settle permanently.

⁵Law of October 6, 1903.

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sequently lifted.⁶ In March of 1939, a decree granting special privileges to land workers from Czechoslovakia made clear that these benefits were limited to "non-Semitic" migrants.⁷ In 1942 the Department of Agriculture and Land Settlement required all immigrants to declare their race and religion.⁸

Although there are a limited number of Jews and Orientals in Paraguay today, one does not find Negroes. It is likely that because of Paraguay's history of self-containment, Negroes never came to Paraguay on their own volition, nor were they brought there as slaves from Africa as they were to Brazil. It is likely also that the reason one does not see Negroes in Paraguay is because they are discouraged from coming by government officials. In an interview with two top government officials this writer was informed that Negroes were not welcome in Paraguay. The writer was told that Paraguay did not want to invite the problem of racial tension that many other countries are now experiencing.

A United Nations official working on the problem of agrarian reform in Paraguay pointed out that as of 1958 the country had forty-seven different overlapping and contradicting laws pertaining to land use and tenure. This was brought to light as a result of a series of seminars for high Paraguayan officials working in the area of agriculture and land tenure. President Alfredo Stroessner thereupon appointed a committee of three to coordinate and rewrite the existing laws into a simple yet workable statute.⁹ This should pave the way for a sounder and more workable future national immigration and colonization program.

Government Encouragement of Immigration

Throughout the nineteenth century Paraguay officially encouraged immigration. Unfortunately, all too often this en-

⁶Law No. 691 of October 31, 1924.

⁷Jacques Vernant, *The Refugee in the Post-War World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 665. Quoting an ILO Memorandum on Migration Policy.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹The seminars were sponsored by the representatives of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). The seminars met three times a week for three weeks.

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couragement was only verbal. The national budget seldom provided adequate financial support for giving even modest assistance to penniless immigrants. One author pointed out that the national budget in the latter twenties was so meager as to provide assistance for only twenty immigrants a month.¹⁰ At this rate the national government would have helped less than 250 immigrants a year.

For a number of years the government maintained an immigrant hotel in Asuncion under the direction of the national immigration service. Unfortunately, the services to the immigrants were greatly limited because of the small financial resources at their disposal. In order to encourage immigration, a national law was passed in 1903 providing for payment of second-class passage of immigrants from Buenos Aires or Montevideo to Asuncion. On arrival the immigrants were housed free of charge for a maximum of eight days at the immigrant hotel. Transportation expenses from Asuncion to the point of settlement were also paid by the government, but as indicated above this affected only a very few newcomers and did not provide any genuine incentive for large-scale immigration.

Colonization and Group Settlement of Early Immigrants

Most immigration into Paraguay over the past century, which is to say since immigration has been officially permitted or encouraged, has resulted in the establishment of colonies. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, during the 26-year period from 1881 to 1907 there were 12,241 registered immigrants entering Paraguay. This represents an annual average of only 470. However, the figure represents only those whose river passage was paid from Buenos Aires to Asuncion and includes only those who had officially registered in the Paraguayan consulates in Buenos Aires and Montevideo.¹¹ It does not include all those immigrants who had come at their own expense or those who entered the country without registering. In the latter category there must have been as many or more as in the former. There are numerous evidences of

¹⁰Frank G. Carpenter, *Along the Parana and the Amazon* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1926), p. 75.

¹¹Schurz, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

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exits and entrances to and from the country without official approval or recognition.

By 1925 it is estimated that there were between thirty and forty thousand inhabitants of Italian, Argentinian, Brazilian, German, English, Spanish, and French origin in Paraguay.¹² The following three periods for which information on immigration data is available indicates the official flow of foreign born people into Paraguay.

TABLE No. 1

Registered Immigrants to Paraguay

1881 — 1958		
1881 - 1907	13	12,241
1908 - 1918	14	7,970
1919 - 1958	15	46,690
Total		66,901

It must be stated repeatedly that these figures have no known relation to the actual total of immigrants. For a full century the national borders of Paraguay were loosely guarded; therefore, the flow of immigrants across the national border was loosely controlled. Even today there is evidence of considerable border crossing without government sanction. For this reason immigration statistics cannot be presented as anything more than approximate figures.¹⁶

The actual number of group settlements in Paraguay is not

¹²Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 75. From all evidence available, this seems like too generous an estimate.

¹³Schurz, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 133.

¹⁵Data furnished by the director of the Instituto de Reforma Agraria, 1959.

¹⁶As a commentary on the incompleteness of official government data, the following illustrations can be cited: The figures from the Institute of Agrarian Reform in the year 1926 recorded only 302 immigrants coming to Paraguay, but in that year 1,743 Mennonites actually entered Paraguay and established the Menno Colony in the Chaco. In 1930 IRA reports the entrance of 383 immigrants, but in that year 1,481 Mennonite colonists entered Paraguay to establish the Fernheim colony in the Chaco.

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accurately known because there is difference of opinion as to what constitutes a distinct colony or separate settlement. If one considers only group settlements made by foreign immigrants, rather than those made also by Paraguayan nationals, the total number of colonies or group settlements is probably in the neighborhood of fifty.¹⁷ A careful, although not exhaustive, study on this point would suggest this figure. This point will be supported and discussed in the following chapter.

As for the nationalities preferred, there is evidence that Germans have been quite welcome and in some cases solicited. Immediately following World War I in anticipation of an exodus of Germans from their home country, it was proposed in the Paraguayan national congress that an immigration office be established in Hamburg, Germany, for the purpose of attracting immigrants to Paraguay.¹⁸ The Deutscher Volksbund für Paraguay in 1930 published a booklet entitled "Paraguay: Winke für Einwanderer" to serve as a guide for prospective immigrants from Germany. Similar literature had also been prepared in Germany for the same purpose. The anticipated flow of German immigrants to Paraguay began in 1919 when 55 immigrants reached Asuncion. At that time it was estimated that there were about 5,000 Germans in all Paraguay. Of this number, it was said that 40 per cent were German-Brazilians from the southern states of Parana and Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil.¹⁹ Most of these German-Brazilians settled in the Alto Parana region in eastern Paraguay in the environs of the city of Encarnacion and north along the Parana River.

Paraguayan law has provided for two classes of colonies—national and private.²⁰ As sites for national colonies, the government for many years reserved certain areas of the public, or "fiscal," lands and divided them for distribution into suitable parcels of from 25 to 50 acres if intended for livestock raising. Both Paraguayans and foreigners are eligible for public lands.

¹⁷Vernant, *op. cit.*, p. 664, states that there have been over a hundred colonies established in Paraguay. There is no evidence given in support of this figure, but it seems too high on the basis of facts available to the writer in this research.

¹⁸Schurz, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-132.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰*Ibid.*

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The law pertaining to colonization as revised in 1918 was called the "Ley de Homestead" and had the character of the 1862 United States Homestead Law.²¹ Under its provision any bona fide farmer who satisfied other requirements of the law was entitled to register in the Office of Lands and Colonies. The price of the land depended on its quality and its location and could be paid for in five yearly payments. It was expected that the settlers would make definite improvements on the land within the five-year period, but it is doubtful if many lived up to the expectations of the attractively written law.

The second legal type of colony consisted of strictly private enterprises. These lands might have been acquired by private individuals from the government for the express purpose of establishing colonies on them or they might have been acquired for other purposes, but were sold in whole or in part later on to immigrant groups or nationals desiring to settle on them. Lands ceded to private individuals for the purpose of establishing colonies were made available by a special act of Congress rather than by the Office of Lands and Colonies. Over both the national colonies and those ceded especially to private individuals the government exercised a considerable amount of supervision. Nevertheless, when a private landholder who had not acquired land especially for colonization purposes sold all or part of it to colonists, he enjoyed a great deal of freedom from government supervision.

The Paraguayan Government was formerly liberal in making grants for private colonizing schemes, but unpleasant experiences with some of these undertakings made it more cautious. Public lands are no longer easy to get by private individuals for promotional purposes. The Government today negotiates directly with interest immigrant groups. The size of the public domain has been greatly reduced as a result of the Government's former liberal policy of disposing of public lands.

When in the opinion of the central government the numbers and prosperity of a colony justify the change, the President of the Republic is empowered to raise its status to that of "pueblo" or municipality. When that happens, it is administered thereafter according to the national law of municipalities and is sub-

²¹*Ibid.*

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ject to the control of the Ministry of the Interior. The colonies of San Bernardino established in 1881 and Yegros established in 1891 are both illustrations of colonies that subsequently were classified as municipalities.

The two Paraguayan officials who have most to say about the matter of immigration and colonization today are the Secretary of Agriculture and the President of the Institute of Agrarian Reform. Both of these men expressed the strong feeling that the most valuable immigrants to the country were colonists. The government prefers colonists because they represent organized groups that can be effectively negotiated with through responsible leaders. These in turn assume moral and social responsibility for the behavior of members of their group. Furthermore, they pointed out that the group leaders could come to Paraguay and investigate general conditions and negotiate with government officials ahead of the actual coming of the colonists and thus avoid the disappointments and frustrations that have often resulted when immigrants arrived in Paraguay without advance investigation and preparation. These men also pointed out that group immigration made it possible to avoid illegal immigration much more easily. Also by having responsible groups come to Paraguay, they felt the entrance of individual communists could be more easily detected and discouraged.

Paraguayan Government officials think that some of the best agricultural land in the world is found in Paraguay, but it is not being used by the Paraguayans because they tend to concentrate around Asuncion or the few other cities. To offset this concentration tendency, better transportation routes and facilities are needed. The country also needs a credit system whereby land can be bought and paid for over a long-term period. The Government is now willing to sell land on credit and use subsequent payments to create a revolving fund for the purpose of helping additional settlers. Unfortunately, few agricultural colonists have wanted to settle in Paraguay. Land sold by the government is generally 50 per cent lower in price than land sold privately.

A United Nations' expert in agricultural economics strongly supported the idea that additional colonists would be a genuine asset to Paraguay. He felt, too, that the establishing of immi-

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grant colonies would decentralize the country's population and thus change a centuries' old pattern of orienting all national life around Asuncion. The dispersal of the population would develop rural areas and build up political subdivisions or states throughout Paraguay, thus creating a condition necessary for strengthening the country economically and politically.

Significance of Small Landholders for the National Economy

It is clear from what has been said in this chapter that Paraguay has been generally favorable toward foreign immigration and colonization. Nevertheless, her eagerness to encourage agricultural immigrants can hardly be said to have been successful. The government has not successfully stimulated agricultural development on the part of its own nationals, and such immigrant groups as came from foreign countries failed more often than they succeeded.

In Paraguay the small landholders, tenant farmers, and squatters form the lowest income group. Owing to the country's economic underdevelopment, it will require time and basic changes in the political philosophy of the people before this condition improves noticeably. A sturdy, growing body of free and prosperous independent farmers is an asset to any country. The small independent farming class is the backbone of many national economies.

No matter how anxious Paraguay is to have agricultural immigrants come to help develop her resources and till her millions of uncultivated acres, this is not likely to happen until transportation facilities and basic industries are developed. Immigration prospects and agricultural colonization do not look promising so long as 30 per cent of the national budget is devoted to the army and less than 3 per cent to agriculture. Furthermore, it would seem essential that the country develop a more aggressive program of immigration promotion if it is to compete successfully for the most desirable types of immigrants.

3

Unsuccessful Immigrant Group Settlements

THE PURPOSE OF this chapter is to tell the story of Paraguay's unsuccessful experience with foreign ethnic colonies and group settlements. The terms "colony" or "colonization" and "settlement" or "group settlement" will be used frequently throughout this and succeeding chapters. It is, therefore, proper to comment briefly on the sense in which these terms are used.

A group settlement is one in which people with more or less similar objectives migrate from one geographical location to another for the purpose of establishing permanent residence. Such settlements may involve large or small numbers and may cover short or relatively long distances which frequently cross national and international political boundaries. In group settlements, individual members may or may not originate at the same point, have similar cultural backgrounds, or even settle simultaneously with all other members of the group. In other words, group settlements may or may not be cohesive, organic, socio-cultural units.

An ethnic colony, on the other hand, is a term used to denote a group with strong socio-cultural ties and rather clearly defined cohesive patterns of organization. It is a group of like-minded persons having one or more bonds of identity such as race, nationality, religion, cultural heritage, or social experience. Members of the colony tend to be intimately identified with one another and committed to a common set of values, institutions, and ideals. When we speak of colonization we think of the process whereby a group of like-minded people separates from a parent body and transplants itself as an independent entity in a new location. It may migrate as a total corporate body or it may separate from a parent body and form a new colony. The group from which it separated is referred to as the "mother" colony and the group separating is referred to as the "daughter" colony. Such transplantations may take place within a single

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country or they may occur across international boundaries. In any case, there tend to be binding ties between the new and the old social groups.

The sociological significance of the difference between a group settlement and a colony is the way in which social organizations, traditions, customs, beliefs, practices, and a whole host of material cultural items are transmitted "bodily" by means of colonization. There seems to be a familistic character to colonization seldom found in mere settlements. Immigrants as individual settlers tend to conform to their new social environment more quickly than colonists. The latter tend to resist adaptation to the culture of their new environment and adhere to the ways and customs of their own traditions.

Daughter colonists in their new habitat remember the homes they left and the customs and traditions under which they were reared; in the face of the strange new culture in which they find themselves, they tend to idealize the old. Their first inclination is to try to reproduce, as far as possible, in the new community the institutions, organizations, and social patterns of the parent colony. As a spider spins his web out of his own body, so the colonists tend to spin out their own traditions, customs, experiences, and social organizations similar to those of the parent body. Colonists seek to preserve the web of meaningful human relationships found in their parent colonies.

It is not my purpose here to draw a sharp line between the concepts of "settlement" and "colony" or between the processes of "settlement" and "colonization" but rather to indicate that there may be shades of difference. It can probably be said that the terms "colony" and "colonization" imply greater degrees of social cohesion on the part of members involved than do the terms "settle" and "settlement." Members of a colony, like members of a kinship group, tend to have a common background, common interests, common ideals, common objectives, and a common culture pattern.

The central ideas around which a particular colony is organized may vary greatly. The central idea or cohesive factor may be political, racial, ethnic, religious, or cultural. In some instances a common objective may be the central idea that brings the group together and holds it together, such as es-

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cape from poverty, persecution, or the search for living conditions which will provide religious and political freedoms. Usually it is not one single idea but a combination of ideas that binds the members of a colony into a close-knit social unit. This point is illustrated frequently in the case of the numerous colonization efforts undertaken in Paraguay. Many of the immigrant groups coming to Paraguay fulfilled the definition of settlers rather than colonists. One of the chief characteristics of those settlements that failed was their lack of internal social and spiritual cohesion among the members.

Table No. 2

Unsuccessful Group Settlements in Paraguay

Identification	Country of Origin	Approximate Original Size	Approximate Dates of Existence
Nuevo Bordeaux	France	400	1855-1856
Lincolnshire "Farmers"	England	800	1872-1873
Nueva Australia	Australia	475	1893-1897
Trinacria	Italy	600*	1898-1899
Nueva Italia	Italy	400**	1906-1926
Colonia Elisa	Sweden and others	80	1890-1900
Chingui and Rosa Loma	Germany	100	1913-1937
Teutonia or Horqueta	Germany	50	1919-1937
Primavera	England and Germany	350	1941-1961

¹The various group settlement efforts in Paraguay have been classified according to national origins. An effort has been made to provide the same basic identifying data about each resettlement. Information has been given about the place of origin, the date of establishing the settlement, the objectives or motivation in undertaking the settlement, the location of the settlement, and a summary statement about the success or failure of the effort wherever possible.

*Estimated on the basis of a later statement that there were 145 homes in the settlement in 1915. Counting four persons per home the estimate seems modest since many would likely have left before 1915.

**In 1915 there were 100 families reported in this settlement.

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A word of explanation is in order about the method of treating the subject matter of this chapter.¹ It is undesirable to describe in detail each of the fifty or more group settlement efforts. Only the largest and most important of such efforts have been selected for description and discussion.

French Settlement Efforts

NUEVO BORDEAUX (*New Bordeaux*)

It is well to begin the discussion of Paraguay's experience with foreign immigration and group settlement efforts by summarizing the story of what is believed to be the first effort. The earliest attempts of the Paraguayan Government to attract immigrants as colonists goes back to 1855. At this time, Carlos Antonia Lopez reigned as dictator of the country. He was among the most progressive of the country's early presidents. He instructed his pampered twenty-seven-year-old son, Francisco Solano Lopez, the country's minister to France, to see what could be done by way of recruiting European immigrants for Paraguay.

Young Lopez did not seem to have much interest in this assignment but succeeded in making a business deal with a French banking firm at Bordeaux whereby a total of 400 Frenchmen would come to Paraguay as prospective settlers. As an attraction to the Frenchmen, each settler was generously promised free transportation, individual tracts of farming land with a house built on each tract, plus some livestock and easy terms of repayment of the credit advanced. Unfortunately, the recruits were a miscellaneous collection of artisans and unskilled laborers rather than experienced farmers. They had no common interests, experiences, or social ideals to bind them together into a solid group. The Bordeaux banking firm knew nothing about colonization and seemed to be interested only in making money, not in establishing its fellow countrymen successfully in a new land. The stage was set for failure from the outset. There was inadequate preparation made for the immigrant colonists upon their arrival in Asuncion. They were quickly herded to the forbidding Chaco land assigned to them. Lopez was said to have looked upon these helpless and hopeless immigrants as his personal serfs. The following paragraph describes the plight of these unhappy Frenchmen.

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The disillusionment of these former city dwellers in a strange land can well be imagined. Their land was uncleared; the promised houses, that is, the few that were ready, were miserable. Before long some attempted to leave, and Carlos Antonio Lopez threw a military guard around the colony. Some still tried to escape their prison but with one or two exceptions, they were caught, brought back and unmercifully beaten. Two managed to elude the guards by striking out across the trackless Chaco and were never heard from again. Hearing that the Frenchmen were not content, President Carlos Antonia Lopez visited the settlement and asked if anyone wanted to return to France. The leader of the settlers brought him a petition signed by every adult in the colony begging to be allowed to go back to their homeland, but Lopez would not permit it. He abolished the colony. Finally the French Counsel, after long and acrimonious discussions in June of 1856, obtained the release of the greatly thinned ranks of the colonists. . . .²

The above quotation obviously reflects a bias in favor of the French. Other writers describing this same early colonization effort do not throw as severely unfavorable a light on Paraguay.³

The immigrant resettlement effort was an attempt to develop Paraguay economically and to reach out for international contact.⁴ This particular settlement was an attempt to exploit an undeveloped area in the Chaco across the Paraguay River approximately fifteen miles north of Asuncion in the place which is now occupied by the town of Villa Hayes. This was the first effort at the establishment of a settlement in the Chaco and remained the only effort for three-fourths of a century. In spite of the good intentions of Lopez, the colony ended in dismal failure due to lack of understanding as to what it takes for successful establishment of immigration colonies. Obviously it takes more than good intentions and an enthusiastic beginning. This seems to be about the extent of the preparation and serious-

²Quoted by Philip Raine, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-298. Source not revealed.

³Friedrich Kliever, *Die Deutsche Volksgruppe in Paraguay* (Hamburg: Hans Christinas Verlag, 1941), p. 26.

⁴The young Lopez was a great admirer, and later imitator, of Napoleon. One reason for his being sent to France was to enable him to become acquainted with French culture and the French military system.

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ness with which this first effort was undertaken. Not only was this an economic failure, it resulted in a political crisis between the governments of Paraguay and France. This complaint of the dissatisfied settlers against Paraguay for not having fulfilled its part of the contract resulted in Napoleon III's forcing Lopez I to pay indemnity to the settlers for the expenses they incurred and the inconveniences caused them. It is no wonder that seventeen years passed before another settlement effort by immigrants was made in Paraguay.

English Settlement Efforts⁵

LINCOLNSHIRE "FARMERS"

Paraguay's second effort at immigrant settlement was made after the disastrous war of the Triple Alliance in 1872. The country was still in such a state of chronic disorder that no immigration program could have succeeded. The effort reflected such a lack of planning and poor choice of colonists that the whole project was doomed from the beginning. A venture was launched to bring in English immigrants. As a result of a loan negotiated by a banking syndicate in London, money was set aside to finance the settlement of a group of Lincolnshire farmers from England. These "farmers" were to be settled a short distance from Asuncion at Ita and Ipane. The contractors or promoters of the colonization scheme, instead of enrolling farmers, collected some 800 needy artisans from the streets of London and sent them to Paraguay. To add to their difficulty, there had been no adequate advance preparations made either to house or feed them upon arrival.

For some months the colonists suffered intensely from exposure and undernourishment. Survivors eventually received help from British residents in Argentina and were able to reach Buenos Aires where most of them obtained employment. It is reported that only two families out of the 800 individuals brought to Paraguay remained in the country. Of the 800 colonists who had arrived from England in December of 1872, no fewer

⁵George Pendle, *op. cit.*

See also Michael G. Mulhall, *The English in South America* (Buenos Aires: The "Standard," 1878).

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than 162 died in the first six months.⁶ Thus ended disastrously another group settlement effort in Paraguay.

Sources other than the one described in the previous paragraph suggest that there were about 1,000 members in the settlement and that approximately 200 of them were German. The origin of the German element is not known. However, Toeppen and Mangels state that this was the most steady element in the immigrant population.⁷ At least a few of these seem to have remained after practically all of the other colonists decided to leave so as not to become wards of the government. This remaining German group made every effort to develop the land and to adjust as favorably as possible to the circumstances.

As in the Nuevo Bordeaux settlement, these people were completely unsuitable as agricultural pioneers in South America. Even in their home country this motley group of artisans would likely have been a failure as farmers. Among the skills of the immigrants the following are listed: scissors grinder, broom maker, snow shoveler, photographer, chimney sweep, and paper box maker. Naturally such men would be unfamiliar with the plow, harrow, and other agricultural implements, and much less would they understand the difficulties of pioneer agricultural settlements in a foreign land. It is no wonder that they were discouraged and frustrated from the very beginning. The group settlement effort reflects again the naivete of the Paraguayan Government and the English banking firm, as well as of the colonists, in trying to undertake a difficult project with such utter lack of understanding and adequate preparation.

NUEVA AUSTRALIA (New Australia)

Another unsuccessful colonization effort was launched in 1893 by William Lane, an English free-lance journalist who had migrated to Australia.⁸ Lane was a man of strong personality

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷Kliewer, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

See also H. Mangels, *Wirtschaftliche, Naturgeschichtliche und Klimatologische Abhandlungen aus Paraguay* (München, 1904).

See also Hugo Toeppen, *Hundert Tage in Paraguay. Reise ins Innere. Paraguay in Hinblick auf deutsche Kolonisationsbestrebungen.* (Hamburg, 1885).

⁸Pendle, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

See also Raine, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300.

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and advanced socialist ideals. He sympathized with the poor conditions of the working people. After severe disappointment with a large unsuccessful labor strike in Australia, he organized what was known as the New Australia Cooperative Settlement Association. He urged people to join him in helping to establish a new utopia in South America. The Paraguayan Government made a grant of about 450,000 acres of fertile land located 100 miles east of Asuncion in the neighborhood of the city of Villarrica. The grant was made with the understanding that the Association would settle 1,200 families or a total of at least 4,000 persons within a six-year period. The colonization effort came to be known as "Neuva Australia." Members who wished to join were required to surrender all their private property and contribute it to the common fund of the Association. They pledged themselves to refrain from the use of alcohol during the difficult beginning years. Women's suffrage was to be practiced and the Golden Rule was to be the daily guide in human relations.

The first group of 250 immigrants from Australia sailed on the Royal Tar, transferred in Buenos Aires to a smaller river boat, and at Asuncion moved east by rail to their new location. In order to save expenses, members of the immigrant group served as the partial crew on the Royal Tar.⁹ However, a great deal of internal dissension arose on the trip. By the time the immigrant group arrived and during the early days of clearing land and erecting houses, social relations among the colony members were severely strained. Several of the settlers who broke their pledge of abstinence were expelled from the group. Others who rebelled at the restriction of their personal freedoms soon voluntarily seceded.

In 1894 a second party of 225 arrived from Adelaide in Australia, but hardly had they arrived when Lane, unable to control the situation in Nueva Australia, decided to leave with his most ardent followers. He established a small colony called Cosme some distance from the first settlement.¹⁰

Nueva Australia reorganized on a business basis and elected Frederick Kidd as its leader. A sawmill and several stores were

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Pendle, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

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started. An English school was established. The colony attempted to establish a vigorous program. Efforts, however, were not successful and before long most of the members drifted away. In time, much of the colony land was taken over by Paraguayans. Today the colony is known as the Twenty-fifth of November.

Cosme, the settlement started by Lane the second time, consisted of approximately 65 loyal followers. The colony was located on the River Pirapo in the Department of Caazapa. Lane's second effort to transplant his ideas to a new colony were no more successful than his first. Slowly the associates of Lane withdrew from the colony, and Lane himself gave up and returned to Australia a disillusioned man. A few of the original members of the Nueva Australia and Cosme colonies are still in the vicinity of the original settlements. The socialistic basis was abandoned when Lane left Paraguay.¹¹ No other English immigration movements or colonization efforts are known to have been attempted in Paraguay.

Italian Settlement Efforts

Italian immigration, especially from northern Italy, has been looked upon with favor in Paraguay. The number of Italians who have come into Paraguay over the past fifty years is not known. Schurz reports that in 1920 there were 6,000 Italians in Paraguay.¹² In 1958, the Paraguayan Institute of Agrarian Reform, which is in charge of national immigration and colonization, reported that from 1918 to 1958 1,081 Italians had registered.¹³ According to these figures it is clear that Italian immigration was greater during the first quarter of the century than during the second.

Italians have been an important foreign element in the development of the country during the early decades of the twentieth century. Many of the most prominent businessmen in the Republic are of that nationality. As a rule, the Italian

¹¹W. H. Koebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-274.

See also H. V. Livermore, "New Australia," *Hispanic American Historical Review* (August, 1950), pp. 290-313.

¹²Schurz, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

¹³See Table No. 1, Chapter II, page 8.

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immigrants seem to have done better when left to their own initiative than when established in colonies. Practically all the Italians living in Paraguay are in Asuncion where they are engaged in business and the professions. No sizable Italian group of immigrants has come to Paraguay in recent decades. The first Paraguayan shoe factory is said to have been established by Celso Pusinierie and his sons.¹⁴

TRINACRIA¹⁵

An Italian by the name of Dr. Stefano Paterno was a prime mover in organizing the Italo-American Colonization Society which founded two agricultural colonies. The first, Trinacria, was begun in 1898 with a grant of about 75,000 acres of land about 600 miles north of Asuncion and approximately 20 miles east from the river port of Rosario. The first settlers were mostly Sicilians led by Paterno who hoped shortly to recruit no less than 6,000 Italians. The first immigrants arrived in 1898 and were enthusiastically received by the people and the Government. Little did the colonists realize what was in store for them. They found the land unsurveyed, hence unsuitable for settlement. Furthermore, the colony was isolated and without access to markets. Most of the immigrants were not farmers by training and not suited to rugged frontier life. Within a year most of the settlers forsook the settlement and sought their fortunes elsewhere. Thus another group settlement effort in Paraguay failed. The colony land was taken over by the Government. In 1915 there were said to have been 145 homes in this settlement. The number of these which were occupied by Italian families is not recorded.

The South American Lumber Company, an American enterprise, in 1907 got a concession of about 57,000 acres in this region for the purpose of colonizing. The efforts of the lumber company failed—and for very much the same reasons as the Italian colony had failed. Successful resettlement of people is a difficult and long-term process. Most promoters of such enterprises have failed to understand these fundamental considerations.

¹⁴Warren, *op cit.*, pp. 273-274.

¹⁵Schurz, *op. cit.*

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NUEVA ITALIA (*New Italy*)¹⁶

A second Italian settlement effort was made about thirty miles south of Asuncion between Lambare and Angotura in 1906. This colony was known as Nueva Italia. In 1915, 100 families were reported settled on small agricultural plots divided into forty acres each. For a short time this colony seemed to have promise of success, but twenty years after its founding all of the Italian families had left. Many of the farm plots were taken over by German settlers. Thus the second Italian colonization effort failed and in spite of the fact that land had been given to the settlers. The donation was made on the condition that the settlers would live on it three years, improve it by clearing and fencing, and put livestock on it. By 1928, out of the 1,000 inhabitants in Nueva Italia, 128, or about 13 per cent, were Germans, the rest Paraguayans, and no Italians. By 1959, there was only one known German family left. Thus the entire Italian population and practically all the Germans had departed.

OTHER ITALIAN EFFORTS

After World War II the Italian Government, in an effort to relieve itself of surplus population, advertised colonization possibilities in Paraguay along with other South American countries. It pointed out that cheap land was available, free imports for agricultural machinery, and a period of tax-exemption.

At least one effort at emigration from Italy and attempted settlement in Paraguay followed. One of the leaders of this movement who is still in Paraguay provided information about this venture.¹⁷ Approximately forty families settled at two locations in the Missions area in southeastern Paraguay near the towns of Santa Rosa and Saint Iguassu. The families composing the settlements came from various parts of Italy. Approximately 50 per cent were not farmers. There was no bond

¹⁶Schurz, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

See also Kliewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

¹⁷The informant was one of the Italian members of the company who came to Paraguay to check on the defection of the company's president and remained in the country to enter private business.

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of union among the members of the immigrating group except nationality and the common desire for improved economic conditions in the new country.

The Agricultural Bank of Paraguay extended a limited amount of credit for livestock and farm machinery. The Italian farmers were critical of Paraguayan farming methods and felt superior to native farmers. They disregarded local customs, differences in climatic conditions, and advice. They were not able to produce enough to repay their debts. One by one the families left the settlements. Some went to Asuncion, others to Brazil, and some to Argentina. After three years the settlement effort was declared a complete failure.

A second post-war Italian immigration and resettlement effort died aborning.¹⁸ A group of speculating Italian promoters formed an organization known as the Paraguayan Company. A limited amount of capital was assembled to get the company into business. The president of the company, a trained economist, was sent to Paraguay to prepare the way for the expected influx of later immigrants. It is reported that he lost the company's meagre capital in gambling and high living. Because of this and the general unattractiveness of Paraguay as a country for resettlement, the intended colonization effort remained stillborn.

There are, therefore, no remnants of even one successful Italian colony in Paraguay. The Italians who immigrated to Paraguay and the descendants of Italian stock are concentrated in Asuncion.¹⁹

Spanish Settlement Efforts

One would expect that a large number of immigrants to Paraguay might come from another Spanish speaking country, especially the mother country of Spain. In the early part of the nineteenth century Spaniards ranked with Italians in numerical importance in Paraguay²⁰ Like the Italians they tended

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹Schurz, *op. cit.*, p. 132. In 1959 a call by the writer at the Italian Consulate revealed that the consul had no knowledge of any Italian colonization efforts in Paraguay, not even of the post-war unsuccessful efforts.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 132.

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to settle in towns where they established themselves in skilled trades and in various kinds of businesses. During the early part of the century, the Catalana maintained a separate organization in Asuncion distinct from the body of the Spanish colony. There was a marked prejudice against the ordinary class of Spanish immigrants as being a disturbing element in the labor situation. Between 1881 and 1907 there was a total of 1,542 Spanish immigrants.²¹ Between 1917 and 1918, 112 Spaniards immigrated to Paraguay. In the forty-year period from 1918 to 1958, the number of Spaniards registering as immigrants to Paraguay was 1,542 as compared with 1,081 Italians.²² When these figures are averaged on a yearly basis it becomes clear that the annual average immigration of Spaniards (38.5) was exceedingly light.

Following World War II, through the efforts of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, a family reunion plan was initiated. The plan by 1959 had resulted in about forty Spaniards coming to Paraguay. Each immigrant, according to the plan, was expected to provide 3,600 guaranics toward the payment of immigration expenses. Beyond that point the sponsors were to assist in the financial needs of the immigrant. The plan called for up to 150 Spaniards and 100 Italians to enter Paraguay. This family reunion project was designed to bring relatives together and find employment in the new country.²³

There is not a single known case of a successful group settlement or colony by Spaniards in Paraguay. Of the immigrants from Spain who came to Paraguay as individuals and families practically all eventually, if not immediately, established themselves in the city of Asuncion.

Swedish Settlement Efforts

COLONIA ELISA²⁴

The only Swedish colonization effort in Paraguay is identi-

²¹Records from the Paraguay Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

²²*Ibid.*

See also Schurz, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

²³Interview with the honorary Swiss Consul in Asuncion who is also a member of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration in Paraguay.

²⁴Kliwer, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

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fied with Colony Elisa. The background of this colony is found in a Paraguayan national colonization effort dating back to 1890. Elisa is located about 10 miles south of the city of Asuncion along the Paraguay River. The national government's immigration and resettlement efforts failed to support the newly founded colony and consequently forced it into bankruptcy. As a result, a Swede by the name of Dänen E. Johannsen took possession of the colony and attempted to settle fellow Swedes on it. After Johannsen took it over, an analysis of the composition of the colonists reveals that out of eighteen families originating in Europe, seven came from Scandinavian countries, two from Germany, one from Austria, one from England, six from Italy, and one from France. In 1903, it was reported that out of sixty resident families, fourteen were German speaking.²⁵ The colony was never a closed colony in the sense that it did not mix with Paraguayans. Thus, today there are only a few Scandinavian people in the area and very few Germans. It is not generally thought of as a foreign ethnic group since those who came early have been completely assimilated into the national life and culture. It can only be thought of as a Swedish colony in terms of the early hopes of its leader and the seven Scandinavian families, not in terms of the success as a Swedish ethnic group settlement.

German Settlement Efforts

There have been a wide variety of nationalities represented among the immigrants to Paraguay. The largest number of any single nationality is that of the Germans. This does not necessarily mean that Paraguay preferred immigrants of German nationality to all others but rather that a particular set of circumstances contributed to the coming of Germans to Paraguay.

THE FIRST UNSUCCESSFUL GERMAN SETTLEMENT EFFORT

In the tragic war of Paraguay against the Triple Alliance which ended in 1870, it happened that Germany was a neutral nation. Before and during the war a number of Germans had arrived in Paraguay and had put their services at the disposal

²⁵Schurz, *op. cit.*, p.

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of the country. Some participated actively in the fighting against the enemy. In this way the Paraguayans noticed the abilities and characteristics of the Germans. When the war, which had cost the country over one-half of its population, came to an end, the Government opened its doors to European immigrants and made a special effort to attract Germans.²⁶ Due to the negotiations of the German-Austrian colonel, Wisner von Morgenstern, who had been in the country during the war and had fought on the side of the Paraguayan people, a number of German colonists came from the neighboring countries of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay—largely because of the extensive promises made to them. The settlers were to receive a free trip and free land, cattle, and equipment, and even a promise of food and maintenance for a six-month period as well as a limited amount of cash in order to get started as settlers in the new country.

As a result of this generous standing offer, a number of Germans came to Paraguay and attempted to establish a settlement in 1871. The name of the settlement is not known but the location was on the road between Paraguarí and Yaguaron about 25 miles southeast of Asunción. The settlement effort, however, was shortlived. Not many details are known about it, but an Englishman by the name of Johnson traveling through the area in 1874 reported that there were only two or three German families left. The others had moved on to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Not only was the soil in this area unsatisfactory and the water supply inadequate, but the pastureland, too, was not suitable for large scale grazing. These factors plus the circumstances that seemed to characterize most of the early settlements in Paraguay, namely that the members of the immigrant groups were made up of such diverse elements, accounted for the failure of the first German settlement in Paraguay. Many of them were opportunists and, in addition, were not agriculturists but rather manual workers and artisans of various sorts. Some of these had tried their luck elsewhere and then came to Paraguay to see whether life would be easier there.

²⁶Dana Gardner Munro, *The Latin American Republics*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950), p. 219. Munro states that of a half million population in 1865 only 221,079 were numbered in the 1871 census.

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This first effort at German group settlement was not to be the last in Paraguay. It happened that Paraguay was a neutral nation during both World Wars I and II. For this reason German colonists who were scattered throughout the world and thus separated from their fatherland found Paraguay a friendly political climate in which to settle. Furthermore, Paraguay was ever eager for industrious agriculturists and thus welcomed Germans within its borders. After World War I, Paraguay anticipated an exodus of Germans from their mother country. The national Congress of Paraguay, therefore, proposed to establish a propaganda and immigration office in Hamburg for the purpose of attracting immigrants to Paraguay. The Deutschervolksbund fuer Paraguay (Germanic Union of Paraguay) published a booklet entitled "Paraguay: Winke fuer Einwanderer." This was to serve as a guide for prospective immigrants from German speaking countries.

ROSARIO LOMA AND CHINGUI LOMA

In 1913, a German by the name of Otto Steinbart entered a contract with the Paraguayan Government for a tract of land on which to make a settlement between the Paraguay River and its neighboring river Jejui. Steinbart promised in the contract to settle at least 250 German families. In July of 1914, approximately 100 Germans landed at the port of Antequera. These immigrants established themselves in two different locations—one known as Rosario Loma and the other as Chingui Loma. The immigrants were skilled in a variety of occupations, but they were not bona fide farmers and lacked the necessary capital to begin effectively their difficult job of establishing homes in the uncleared land. They also lacked the determination and internal cohesion so necessary to provide the courage and morale to face their difficulties. The majority of the settlers left the colonies within the first year and even their leader, Steinbart, forsook the colony after one year. Only a remnant of the original settlers remained to keep the German element in the colony alive.

The few remaining settlers held on until the end of World War I when additional immigrants from Germany joined them and strengthened the colony somewhat. The years immediately

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following the war seemed to be unusually promising for the colonies. The price of yerba and other products seemed to be attractively high and this gave them considerable hope. This prosperity, however, did not last long. Already in 1918 the demand for yerba was declining and the price began to drop. The years from 1928-1933 were exceedingly difficult. A plague of grasshoppers threatened to do a great deal of damage and further weakened the colony. Later cotton was grown in an effort to find new products which were in demand in the colonies.

Chingui Loma is located approximately six miles from the city of San Pedro in an easterly direction from Nueva Germania. Here at the height of the colony's strength approximately 33 German families lived, all of them engaged in agriculture.

Colony Rosario Loma is located approximately three miles farther east. Both of these colonies are located in areas of considerable woodland with here and there open camp land. Some of this camp land resulted in the development of the cattle raising industry. The number of German families in Rosario Loma in 1937 was eighteen.

But Chingui Loma and Rosario Loma were German settlement efforts in the midst of Paraguayan nationals. The German element in these settlements is today considerably weaker than it was in 1937. Many of the Germans have left for the city of Asuncion, for other colonies, or for Argentina and Germany.

TEUTONIA OR HORQUETA

About 25 miles east of the city of Concepcion a small German colony was established in 1919. The colony was known by the name Teutonia and later Horqueta. Up to 1929 there were eight families in the settlement, but by 1932 a group of about a dozen Mennonite families came from Fernheim colony in the Chaco. There were approximately 51 Mennonites in this settlement. However, the Reichsdeutcher and the Mennonites did not get along well and there was tension from the very beginning. For this reason the Mennonites moved south along the railroad line running east from Concepcion to Horqueta, and at kilometer 37 they settled on a piece of govern-

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ment land and established a closed colony called New Hoffnung. The Mennonite settlement at its height numbered twenty families. By 1947 or 1948, the last of the Mennonite families had left Horqueta. Most of the other Germans have also moved away. Some of the Mennonites who settled there claim that this could have been a successful settlement if it had been larger.²⁷

A number of other small German groups were located in a variety of areas in cities and smaller rural Paraguayan settlements along the Paraguay River. Antequera had a group of about five German families in 1937; by 1959 only three families remained. At Barranguerita approximately 80 Germans were settled on ranch land. These settlers were from Hanover and Oldenberg in Germany. They came to Paraguay in 1927. Like all other immigrants they had so many difficulties that most colonists gave up in despair and today there are only a few German families left.

THE SOCIETY OF BROTHERS (*Primavera*)²⁸

Among the most unique of all Paraguay's colonization efforts

²⁷The Jacob Bergman family, now Colony Friesland.

²⁸The Society of Brothers had its origin in Germany. Its founder was Eberhard Arnold, a secretary of the German Christian Youth Movement following World War I. With others of like mind he organized a small communal group in 1920. He heard of the Hutterian Brethren in South Dakota and went to visit them. The Hutterites are the oldest communal group in existence. Except for sharing of goods and the communal way of life, the Hutterian Brethren share most of the same theological views as the Mennonites.

Arnold was deeply impressed by the Hutterian faith and belief. As a consequence, he joined the brotherhood and was ordained a minister. Returning to Germany, he gathered a group of like-minded believers and established a new Bruderhof near Neuhoof (Fulda) in Hessen-Nassau. The ordination of Arnold took place in 1930, but before the new group was firmly rooted it was threatened with extinction by the coming of Hitler to political power. The National Socialists forced the Bruderhof to close and flee or suffer punishment. The small but devout group fled across the national border into the principality of Lichtenstein where it had temporary asylum. From here the group moved to Ashton Keynes, Wiltshire, in England, and there re-established itself as the Cotswold Bruderhof.

Here it attracted a variety of English people as well as members of

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is Primavera, the name of the colony established by a religious communal group known as the Society of Brothers. It is unique because it is communal, and, as such, it had a far more successful early corporate existence than its socialistic predecessors, Nueva Germania and Nueva Australia.

Leaders of the Society of Brothers in England who had to leave that country because of the war in 1940 contacted the Mennonites and through them negotiated with the Paraguayan Government for permission to settle in Paraguay. Permission was granted and a tract of 20,000 acres of land was purchased somewhat less than 10 miles northeast of the Mennonite colony of Friesland in the state of San Pedro. The colony, established in 1941, was called Primavera, meaning "springtime."

The ethnic membership of the Society was extremely heterogeneous. At one time eighteen different nationalities were represented. About half were English, about one-fourth German, and the rest a mixture of Swiss, Austrian, Dutch, Scandinavian, several Americans, and one Paraguayan family. Although the total number of families in the colony at any given time ranged from 70 to 87 it has been observed that over 90 different family names have been represented in the Bruderhof. Communication was carried on in three languages—English, German, and Spanish. The number of members in the colony grew steadily during the first decade of its existence but remained almost constant during the second.

The Society of Brothers represented one of the best educated and most culturally advanced of any group in Paraguay. It was first of all a religious society composed of adults who voluntarily joined the brotherhood. New members were admitted only after a long period of consideration and after having served clearly defined periods of probation. The educational achievement level of the members was considerably higher than

other nationalities. The Bruderhof seemed to be flourishing when World War II broke out and Germany became a direct enemy of England. Those members of the Bruderhof who had come from Germany were, of course, aliens and as members of a communal organization were doubly unwelcome. The leaders, therefore, had to search once more for a place in which to establish the Bruderhof where it would be permitted to exist in peace. It is here that Paraguay comes into the picture.

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any cross section of the Paraguayan urban population. They were greatly concerned for the education of their children and gave all of them opportunity beyond the elementary and secondary level. The content of their school curriculum was not narrowly sectarian. Good books, classics of all kinds, were available and reading was widely encouraged. In addition, good music and expression in art were promoted according to individual skills and interests. Much time was given to group discussion of community problems as well as religious and social ideals. For adults as well as children ample time was provided for recreation, play, and socialization. Since all meals were eaten in a common dining hall and all work systematically divided among colony members, there was constant opportunity for fellowship in connection with daily work.

In visiting this interesting Christian communal group in 1959, the writer gathered the impression that there was growing dissatisfaction and a crystalizing consensus among community members that Paraguay was not a place in which they wished to remain permanently. After almost 20 years of experimental effort, the group seemed to be longing for a national cultural environment which would be more favorable to the development and growth of the group's ideals. There was a feeling that Paraguay offered only limited educational and cultural opportunities for the training of their young people. The group also felt that the economic possibilities were not promising in Paraguay. Inadequate marketing opportunities for agricultural produce and the excellent wood products manufactured by the brotherhood were among the dissatisfactions expressed.

Late in 1960, 210 of the colony members left the country to take up permanent residence in other countries, chiefly in the United States and England. About one-third of the colony's land (5,600 acres) was sold to the neighboring colony of Friesland.

By April of 1961, the Society of Brothers had officially decided to liquidate Primavera, sell all land and properties and emigrate as a body. The majority of the members presumably returning either to the countries from which they came or joining members of the Society located in other countries such as Uruguay, the United States, and England.

At the time of this writing an analysis of the reasons for

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the Society's decision to leave Paraguay is not available. It is the opinion of the writer that not all of the causes for liquidating and emigrating were external. There is reason to believe that internal strains and tensions existed. The experiences of similar religious and social communal groups in history have again and again demonstrated the difficulty of keeping the ideal of intimate cooperative sharing alive beyond one or two generations.²⁹ Primavera then must be added to the list of Paraguay's unsuccessful group settlement efforts. It is the most recent and one about which there is more detailed information than any other of those that failed.

The vital statistics and selected basic data on the accompanying tables show the various aspects of growth over a seventeen year period. These tables do not reflect the amount of capital that was imported by way of contributions of money and material equipment over the years to enable this colony to become established. Nor do these figures reveal the social and cultural impact the colony has had on the Paraguayan community, both locally and nationally.

Table No. 3

THE SOCIETY OF BROTHERS: 1943-1958

Demographic Data

(By five-year intervals)

	1943	1948	1953	1958
Inhabitants	370	521	660	652
Villages	2	3	3	3
Families	63	73	79	87
Marriages	3	1	1	5
Births	26	19	10	14
Deaths	4	2	1	3
Schools	2	3	3	3
Pupils	62	139	216(1951)	196(1959)

²⁹Charles Nordhoff, *The Communistic Societies in the United States* (New York: Harpers, 1875 or 1960 Revised Edition).

See also Henrich Infield, *Cooperative Communities at Work* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1945).

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Table No. 4

Agricultural Data

Domestic Animals

(By five-year intervals)

	1953	1958
Horses	169	189
Beef and Dairy	2515	2366
Hogs	237	157
Chickens	1310	1667
<i>Farm Implements</i>		
Wagons	17	22
Plows	6	10
Harrows	4	6
Threshing Machines	1	1
Cultivators	3	3
Tractors	1	4
Trucks and Jeeps	2	2
<i>Household Conveniences</i>		
Refrigerators	0	2
Radios	3	3

	1953	1958
<i>Acres Planted</i>		
Kaffir	25.0	30.0
Corn	55.0	37.5
Wheat	—	75.0
Sugar Cane	17.5	12.5
<i>Tons Harvested</i>		
Kaffir	7	3
Corn (grain)	61	50
Wheat	—	—
Sugar Cane Syrup	8.8	10.3
<i>Acres of Fruit Trees and Vines</i>		
Oranges	1.25	2.5
Grapefruit	5.00	15.0
Bananas	17.5	22.5
Grape Vines	7.5	7.5

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Reflections on Unsuccessful Colonization Efforts in Paraguay

With the exception of the Mennonite colonies, practically all of the German group resettlement efforts have the characteristic of a heterogeneous origin. Not a single German colony other than the Mennonites has all of its members coming from a single country. Most of the German group settlements find among their members three or four and even up to nine different countries represented. The immigrants in the various German colonies were found to come from such countries as Brazil, Argentina, Switzerland, Russia, Austria, and Africa as well as Germany.

Even when members of a single colony all came from Germany, they did not generally come from a single area or province within the country. There are thirteen different German provinces represented among the German colonists in Paraguay. For instance, among the Villarrica Germans the colonists came from the following German provinces: four families from Bavaria, five from Saxony, nine from Thuringia, eight from Wittenberg, twelve from Sudetenland, six from Baden, thirteen from Berlin, three from Pomerania, and six from Hamburg.

This diversity of background in the many German colonies may account in part for the lack of internal cohesion and the frequent breakups of the various colonies. It is a condition in sharp contrast to the Mennonite colonists who not only came from the same country but from the same locality within a country. Furthermore, they belong to the same church, often grew up in the same community, and were often close blood relatives to many of their colony neighbors. In both the German and the Mennonite colonies, these situations are commentaries on the relative social solidarity and cohesive organization of the groups.

Immigrant settlers in Paraguay came from France, England, Germany, Australia, Italy, Spain, and Brazil. A few came from other countries but not in sufficient numbers at any one time to constitute a group settlement. Only Germany and Brazil furnished repeated immigrant groups and those coming from Brazil were almost entirely from German settlements made

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fifty or a hundred years earlier in that country. The main reasons for unsuccessful group settlements in Paraguay may be summarized as follows:

1) Paraguay as a land-locked country has traditionally been isolated from much of the trade and commerce of the world and for the same reason has been out of touch with the technological and cultural changes going on in more progressive areas of the world. Partly as a result of this, the nation's economy has been undeveloped and changes in government have often been characterized by violence and short tenure. Such political and economic characteristics made Paraguay an unattractive country for prospective immigrants. By comparison with Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, Paraguay had a great disadvantage in that immigrants had an additional 1,000 miles of inland riverboat travel before arriving at their destination. Most prospective settlers, given a preference, naturally chose the closer and more highly developed countries.

2) The national Government of Paraguay never developed a realistic or effective program of promoting immigration or colonization, nor did the Government ever have a genuine program of assisting settlers economically in getting started in the difficult task of establishing agricultural settlements. Reference is especially made to such elemental necessities as roads, public means of transportation and communication, not to mention such basic services as schools, elemental health facilities, and economic assistance in production and marketing. Time and time again settlement groups felt defeated before they had really begun. The difficulties they encountered or saw in the future were so overwhelming that their hopes often were crushed from the very beginning.

3) The social composition of the unsuccessful colonies was in almost every instance so diverse in cultural background and in motive that they lacked all semblance of internal organization and social cohesion. Most of the groups were composed of adventuresome opportunists. Many of them although expecting to become agricultural settlers had no personal experience or training in agriculture. In fact, many were unskilled and unemployed laborers. They represented the more unstable social and economic segments of the societies from which they

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were drawn. When such culturally heterogeneous individuals found themselves herded together in isolated rural settlements in a strange country, it was too much to expect them to operate as effective group organizations. Such miscellaneous collections of people lacked both centrality of purpose and effective systems of organization. Failure was inevitable from the very outset.

4) Not the least of the difficulties immigrant groups experienced in Paraguay was cultural shock. Most of the immigrants involved in the unsuccessful settlements came from north-western Europe. They were used to temperate climates, good roads, public systems of transportation, and technological inventions. Industriousness and integrity among public officials and a high education level were to them commonly accepted norms. In Paraguay they encountered extreme opposites; a torrid climate, no roads or public systems of transportation, few technological advancements, a poor education system, low health standards, a strange language, and religious practices and beliefs that seemed strangely different. All in all, these sharp contrasts caused many of the immigrants and settlers to seek escape from the new culture rather than adjustment to it. The net result was repeated failures of immigrant group settlements.

Successful Immigrant Group Settlements

FORTUNATELY, NOT ALL of Paraguay's efforts to encourage immigration and group resettlement ended in failure. The story of Paraguay's experience with immigrant settlements up to this point has been a gloomy one. However, in this chapter there are more positive aspects of colonization and group resettlement.

The story of successful immigrant group settlements in Paraguay is confined almost exclusively to Germans except for the four recently established Japanese colonies. If Mennonites were classified as Dutch rather than as German, they would, of course, constitute a major exception to the above statement.¹

The term "successful" is used in a broad, general sense. By it is meant permanence or continued existence. It also implies a measure of attaining the group's original objectives. There is no effort to evaluate each colony from a social, economic, political, or religious point of view.

In this chapter we shall be discussing the larger group settlement efforts. In addition to the German colonies that will be discussed are collections of Germans in cities and in small river ports who for various reasons gathered in certain localities and developed a group spirit, and oftentimes formed permanent organizations of one kind or another. This is especially true of the individual Germans who drifted into Asuncion and Encarnacion either from abroad or from the hinterland of Paraguay where many of them had originally come as agricultural set-

¹Although generally considered Germans, the Mennonites in Paraguay are all ethnically of Dutch origin. Their ancestors lived in Holland until the seventeenth century. From there they moved eastward into northern Germany and remained there until the latter part of the eighteenth century when they migrated to the Ukraine in Russia. In Germany they acquired the German language for formal use. It is significant, however, that all Mennonites in Paraguay today still speak a Dutch dialect known as Low German.

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tlers. Although not having as large a total population, the city of Encarnacion probably has as many Germans as does Asuncion.

The exact number of Germans in these cities and other population centers is difficult to determine since second and third generation stock tends to be in a kind of ethnic "twilight" zone, sometimes classified by nationality of parents and sometimes by nationality of birth. Thus, many Germans while listed as Paraguayans are still bilingual and, in a sense, bicultural in that they observe German as well as Paraguayan customs. In some of the smaller rural settlements, the German colonists soon began to mix with non-German ethnic stock. In some the Paraguayans gradually displaced the Germans so that today there are very few people of German stock left. None of the larger colonies except for the seven German-speaking Mennonite colonies are today solidly German. The processes of social accommodation to the Paraguayan culture have in varying degrees taken place everywhere.

There are small remnants of German settlements in the outlying areas of Asuncion within a fifty-mile radius. For instance, Nueva Italia, which was discussed in the previous chapter as an Italian settlement, was later taken over by Germans. In 1920 the community of Canadita, about 20 miles south of Asuncion, was established. It had the blessing of Edward Schaerer, the President of Paraguay at the time, who was himself of German stock. It was never a large settlement although in 1938 it was reported to have 100 German inhabitants. Today there are few Germans left. Another small group was Villeta, a small river town where a few German families settled. Such scattered families as these cannot accurately be called ethnic group settlements, but they illustrate how immigrants are scattered in small groups to eventually probably be absorbed into the national culture of the country.

Table No. 5 indicates the German-speaking settlements in Paraguay. It should be noted that the population attributed to each of the colonies pertains only to the German inhabitants of those colonies. Not all of these group settlement efforts can

Successful Immigrant Group Settlements

Table No. 5

*German-Speaking Group Settlements in Paraguay:
1881-1948*

Region and Name	Country of Origin	Date of Founding	Original Number of Inhabitants
<i>Asuncion</i>			
San Bernardino	Germany	1881	
<i>Alto Paraguay</i>			
Nueva Germania	Germany	1887	160
Friesland	Russia	1937	748
Volendam	Russia	1947	1800
<i>Villarrica</i>			
Independencia	Germany	1920	186
Carlos Pfannl	Austria	1931	200
Sudetia	Czechoslovakia	1934	150
<i>Alto Parana</i>			
Hohenau	Brazil	1900	15
Capitan Meza	Germany-Brazil	1907	30
Cambyreta	Germany	1911	50
Obligado	Germany-Brazil	1912	
Bella Vista	Brazil	1917	
Jesus & Trinidad	Germany	1920	50
San Miguel	Germany	1921	70
Alborada	Germany	1924	160
Fram	Poland-Russia*	1927	800
<i>The Chaco</i>			
Menno	Canada	1926	1743
Fernheim	Russia	1930	2000
Neuland	Russia	1947	2400
<i>Caaguazu</i>			
Bergthal	Canada	1948	574
Sommerfeld	Canada	1948	626

*This colony contained a number of German and Czechoslovakian families.

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be said to have been successful. A number of them were extremely small numerically, and existed only for a short time.²

The larger group settlements will be discussed as individual colonies by general geographical regions within Paraguay. These regions coincide more or less with "departementos" or political states. The regions in which the colonies are found are Asuncion, Alto Paraguay, Villarrica, Alto Parana, the Chaco, and Caaguazu.

Colonies in the Asuncion Region

SAN BERNARDINO

The first permanent foreign colony established in Paraguay is known as San Bernardino and was founded in 1881. Its leader was Jacob Schaerer, a comparatively wealthy man. Most members of the colony came directly from Germany and a few came from Brazil. The home addresses of the first fifteen families listed indicate they came from at least six different provinces in Germany, including Berlin, Saxony, Westphalia, Rheinland, Schleswig, and Hamburg.

Like many of the Germans who came to the United States after the European upheaval in 1848, these people were men with advanced social ideas who fled under the repressive measures in the Reich. San Bernardino is located about 35 miles directly east of Asuncion. The location of the area is geographically favorable and attractive from a climatic standpoint since the settlement was made on the north side of Lake Itaipu. The colony was unfortunate in the poor quality of the soil and the fact that the Central Paraguay Railway was on the opposite side of the lake. Later a spurline of the railway was run down to the lake across which connections were maintained with the town by means of launches.

²The Institut fuer Auslandsbeziehungen in 1954 published an issue devoted to Germans in Paraguay. The information pertaining to German settlements in Paraguay was derived from the following sources:

Kliewer, *op. cit.*

Herbert Wilhelm, "Die Deutschen Siedlungen in Mittelparaguay," Kiel, 1941, Deutsches Jahrbuch fuer den Alto Paraguay, 1954, herausgegeben von Herman J. Hassel, Posades, San Martin 359, Argentina.

Successful Immigrant Group Settlements

In spite of great difficulties and poor soil, the colony survived, probably due to the fact that it had good leadership and a government administration favorably disposed to helping the struggling colonists. The members of the group were largely socialists with an urban background thrown on their own resources in this frontier settlement. The colonists developed small dairy farms and became an important source of dairy products for the city of Asuncion. San Bernardino was originally a colony, but later was given the political status of a "pueblo" or municipality. This means that San Bernardino is now an integral part of the political subdivision of Paraguay. The main economic interest of the colony is no longer dairying. It has become one of Paraguay's chief vacation resorts. Many of the wealthy Asuncion residents have homes at San Bernardino where they spend time during the hot weather months. Out of the approximately 3,000 inhabitants in San Bernardino about 10 per cent were Germans in 1938. There is ample evidence of German culture in the area as indicated by people who still speak German and whose names indicate Germanic origin. San Bernardino has furnished Paraguay with numerous business and professional leaders.

ALTOS

Two years after the founding of San Bernardino a group of dissatisfied colonists moved about six miles away where they sought better soil on which to carry on farming. This then in 1883 became the second German settlement and was in a sense a daughter settlement. There were approximately 70 members in the Altos group at the time of founding.³ From the very beginning it was not a closed colony. In addition to new German settlers joining the group from Brazil there were also numerous Paraguayans in the colony from the start. In 1938 the Germans in the colony numbered about 200.⁴ The chief source of income and means of livelihood came from dairying, meat products, coffee, and wine production.

³Kliwer, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

⁴Institut fuer Auslandsbeziehungen, November-December, 1954, p. 294.

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Japanese Colonization in Paraguay

Paraguay's first modern immigration law which was written in 1903 specifically prohibited persons belonging to the yellow race. By 1924, the ban on Asiatic immigrants had been lifted.⁵ There was no organized immigration of Orientals to Paraguay, however, until 1935 when the Japanese colony of La Colmena was established. This was the first of a series of colonies planned cooperatively by the Japanese and Paraguayan Governments and a private Japanese colonization association. Before the second colony could be established World War II broke out, and consequently establishment of the next Japanese colony

Table No. 6

Summary Data Regarding the Japanese Colonies in Paraguay

Region and Name	Date of Founding	Original Number of Families	Number of Persons
<i>Asuncion</i>			
La Colmena	1936	120	540
<i>Alto Paraguay</i>			
Pedro Juan Caballero	1956	123	756
<i>Alto Parana</i>			
Frederico Chaves	1955	119	789
Fram	1956	303	2032
	Total	665	4117

⁵Law of October 6, 1903. See also Law No. 691 of October 31, 1924, and Decree No. 20, 173 of February 24, 1925.

⁶See page 7—Paper read by Dr. Aiji Nishio at the First National Seminar of the Institute of Agrarian Reform.



A sturdy team of oxen which helped immigrant settlers in pioneering days.

Chaco Colony farmer returning from a trip to town.





Savage Moro Indians photographed at Pure Oil Company Camp—shortly thereafter these Indians killed a missionary.



Lengua Indians: picking cotton for Chaco Colony farmers.

Missionary with Chaco Indian girls.





A World Bank delegation visits the Chaco.





High School Building, Filadelfia Fernheim Colony.

Elementary school and teacherage at Fernheim





A Menno Colony exploratory party ready to enter the Chaco in 1921.

Hauling sugar cane in rural Paraguay.





Immigrants leaving Russia as refugees.

Refugees temporarily housed in Displaced Persons Camp awaiting opportunity to migrate.





Immigrant house in Colony Volendam where all families lived together until individual homes could be built.

Family outdoor ovens. Each woman cooked separately for her family even while living communally.

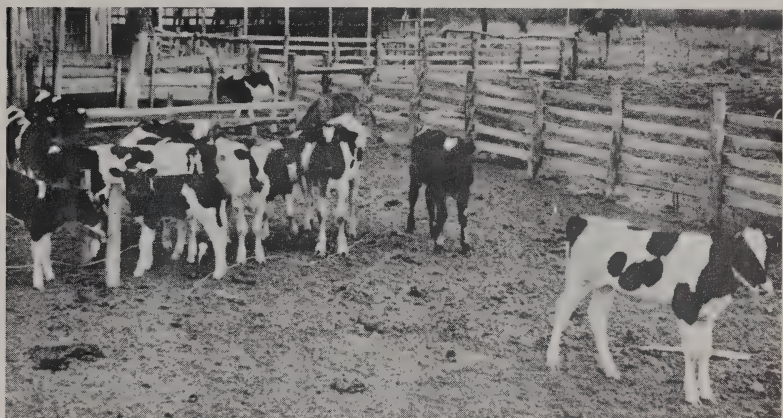




Immigrants . begin building houses.

Immigrant refugees' first kitchen.





*Purebred dairy cattle introduced by Sarona,
Chaco privately owned model dairy.*

Native Paraguayan cattle on Causarina Ranch, Chaco.

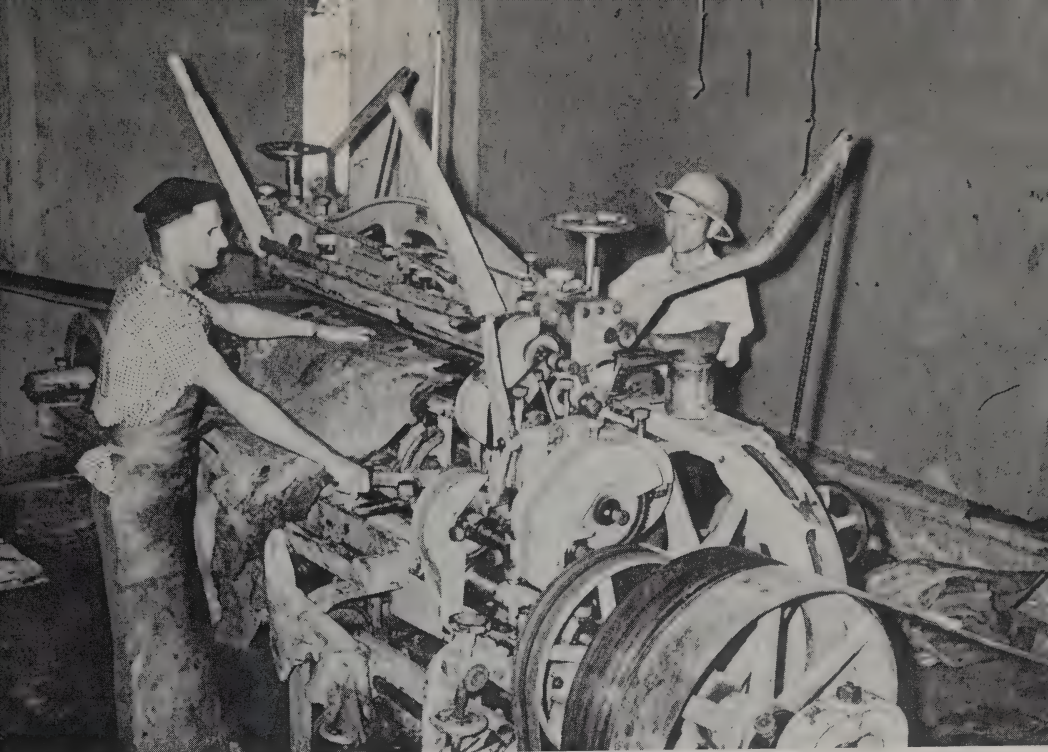




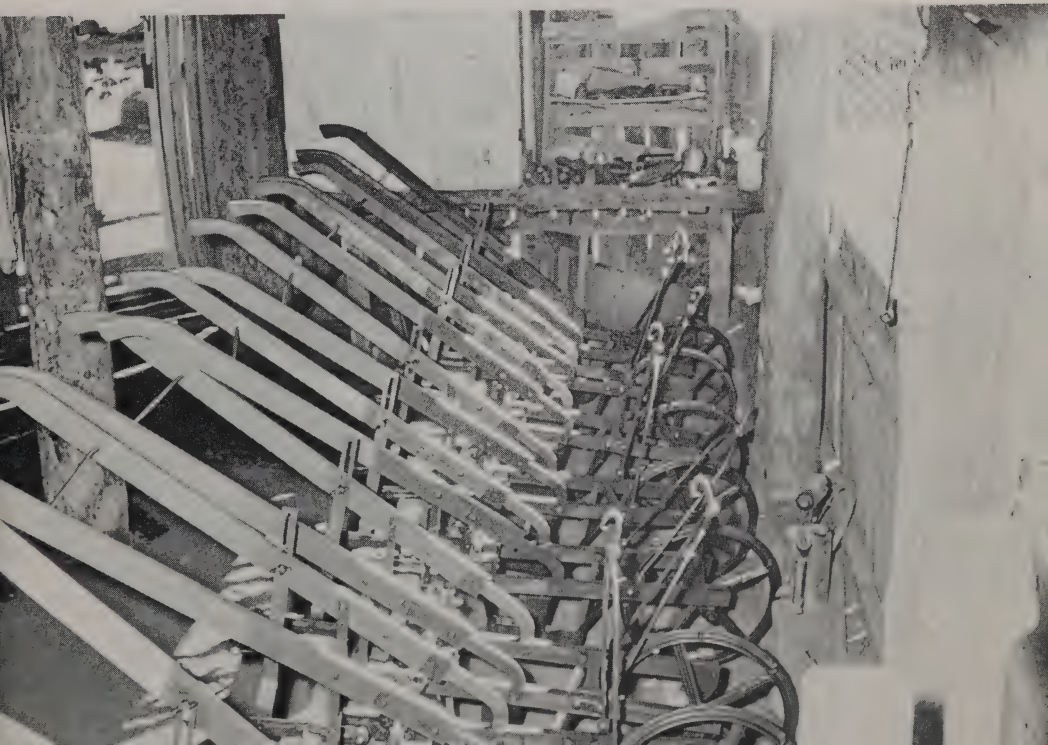
Sawmill in Colony Friesland.

Sawmill and Cotton Gin, Colony Menno.





Chaco Tannery processing hides.



Fernheim Foundry manufactured cultivators.



Mechanization comes to the Chaco.

The Trans-Chaco Highway opens hitherto isolated agricultural areas.





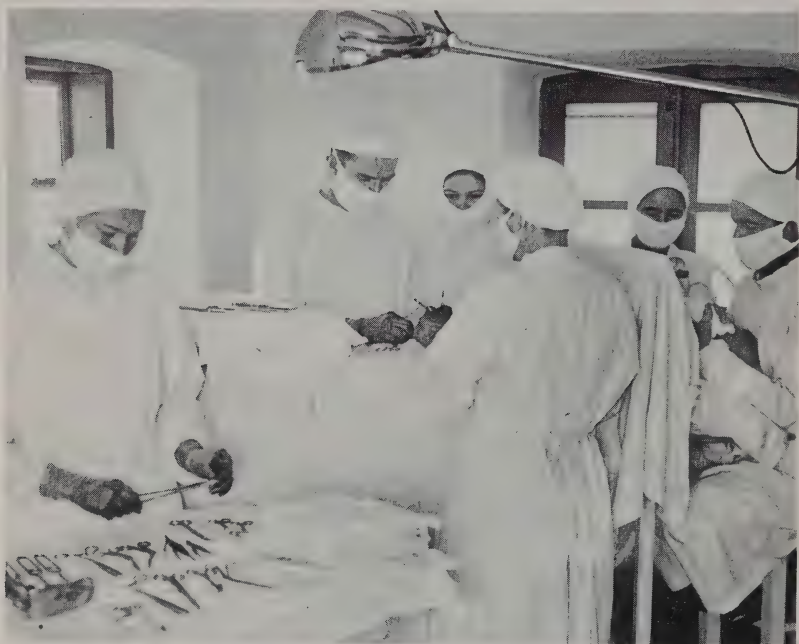
Fernheim Clinic and Pharmacy.



Society of Brothers' Hospital—Colony Primavera.



Paraguayan family coming to Neuland Colony hospital.



*Hospital surgery—Filadelfia.
Mental Hospital under construction in the Chaco.*





Mennonite Church in Colony Volendam.



Mennonite Church in Colony Neuland made of bricks from local brick factory.



Road sign at the south end of the Trans-Chaco Highway.

Trans-Chaco Highway from the air while under construction.



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was postponed until 1955 when Frederico Chaves was founded. The third and fourth colonies, Fram and Pedro Juan Caballero, were organized in 1956. Thus as of December 31, 1958, the Japanese colonization picture can be summarized as follows:

Following World War II, the Paraguayan and Japanese Governments attempted to work out an agreement which would be of mutual advantage to both countries. Paraguay needed money and ships to export some of her natural resources. Japan has a surplus population and needed to find countries with open doors willing to accept some of her people. The Governments worked out an arrangement whereby Japan was to provide three ships capable of navigating across the Atlantic. In exchange Paraguay was to accept a total of 30,000 Japanese families, not numbering over five persons per family on the average or a total of 150,000. This contract was to be carried out over a 30-year period; in other words, an average of 1,000 families or 5,000 individual Japanese immigrants for each of 30 years. There were other details pertaining to the agreement, such as an upper age limit and the specifications of the ships to be supplied.

Paraguay received Japanese immigrants but had received no ships up to 1959. Negotiations had broken down and no satisfactory agreement had been reached at that date. If the terms of this project were to be carried out, it would become by far the largest single immigration-colonization venture ever undertaken by Paraguay. In fact, it would amount to eight times the total number of Germans ever to have immigrated to Paraguay.

LA COLMENA

This colony lies in a southeasterly direction from Asuncion in an isolated and often inaccessible area approximately 50 miles from Asuncion. It is the oldest of the Japanese colonies, having been established in 1936. The colony is loosely organized socially and politically.

The main organization is the colony cooperative which owns a considerable amount of property and provides the all-important marketing service for the farmers. Some thirty Paraguayan families in the vicinity have been invited to become cooperative

Immigrant Group Settlements in Paraguay

members, but few have availed themselves of the opportunity. There are no tractors in the colony, either cooperatively or privately owned. Most of the farmers still farm with oxen. A little wheat is grown in La Colmena. A cotton gin, a rice mill, and a small flour mill were reported to be operated by the cooperative. Warehouse facilities for 200,000 liters of wine indicate that a considerable number of farmers are also producing grapes. The farmers are continually increasing their vineyard acreages. The land, originally comprising a large singly owned unit, is cut up into 50-acre plots. The land was bought on a ten-year payment plan.

There is no hospital, but there is a small clinic; a Paraguayan and a Japanese doctor and one midwife provide medical care for the community. There seems to be no formal religious organization. Recreational and social activities are carried on informally. There is some intermarriage between Paraguayans and Japanese. In the 24 years of the colony's existence, there have been five cases of Japanese boys marrying Paraguayan girls and one case of a Paraguayan boy marrying a Japanese girl. The colony has one primary and one secondary school with Paraguayan teachers whose salaries are paid by the Paraguayan Government.

Colonies in the Alto Paraguay (San Pedro) Region

There were a number of German colonization efforts in the area along the Paraguay River from 80 to 100 miles north of Asuncion. This is the area generally known as Alto Paraguay. A political subdivision of this area is known as San Pedro. The colony Nueva Germania located in this area had extreme difficulties in its early years, which resulted in the slowing up of additional immigrants from Germany to the area. However, when yerba was discovered as the chief source of agricultural income, this improved the conditions of the colony considerably. It stimulated further interest in German immigration just prior to World War I.

NUEVA GERMANIA

One of the most interesting, although not the most successful, of the German colonies established in Paraguay is Nueva

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Germania founded in 1887. The leader of this colony was Dr. Bernard Foerster. Foerster's wife was a sister and biographer of the German philosopher, Fredrich Nietzsche. The goal of this settlement, like that of Nueva Australia, was to establish a socialist utopia. In order to provide the desired mental tranquility for living in this hoped for paradise, the farms of the colonists were separated by miles of almost impenetrable forest. During wet seasons the roads made travel between the farms almost impossible. Loneliness and inability to cope with the strange land made conditions exceedingly trying for the colonists. Marketing conditions were likewise exceedingly difficult. The socialist ideas failed when put to the test, and the colony would probably have died had not one of the later arrivals and more intelligent members learned that yerba tea could be cultivated profitably. The colonists moved closer together, and the cultivation of Paraguayan tea became their economic salvation.

The colony is located approximately 130 miles northeast of Asuncion. The settlement was at one time accessible by boat on a smaller river branching into the Paraguay. After one year, the colonists numbered 160. A blow to the colony was Dr. Foerster's unexpected and untimely death in 1889. This left the colony without a leader for some time. From Breslau, Germany, came a man by the name of Fritz Neumann, who joined the colony and provided the necessary leadership for the development of the yerba culture. Neuva Germania was the first effort at a closed settlement in Paraguay. In 1938, there were approximately 400 inhabitants of which about 130 were Germans and the remainder Paraguayans.

An interesting bit of information on the evolution of the colony is furnished by a former member of the Nueva Germania settlement who later married a Mennonite in the Friesland colony and took up residence there. The informant's parents came from Prussia in 1914. They came first to Argentina where her grandfather had worked with a drilling company. This informant reported that in 1958 there were three villages making up the Nueva Germania colony. The names of the villages were Tacuruty, Costa Norde, and Costa Sud. In these three villages there were 26 German families consisting of a total of about 75 people. The villages are about an hour and

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a half's ride from one another.

Most of the German young people left the colony as they became of age and sought work elsewhere. Many of the colonists left not only Nueva Germania but Paraguay as well and went back to Argentina or even returned to Germany. The colony had its greatest strength at the time yerba was under cultivation. Labor for taking care of yerba became expensive and the market declined so that the colony lost its economic base.

The informant thinks there is no future for the colony. In former days there was little intermarriage, but today it is quite common between the Germans and Paraguayans. There was no strong religious or other organization as far as this former member can recall. A Lutheran pastor came from Asuncion once or twice a year. The schoolteacher in the colony for most of the years was furnished by the German Government. He became the informal colony leader, and the school was the point of greatest socialization in the colony.

A member of the German Embassy staff, after visiting Nueva Germania in 1958, concluded also that there was no economic future for the colony as long as it existed in its isolated and inaccessible geographic location.

FRIESLAND

The original members of the Friesland colony were all earlier members of the Fernheim colony, who became dissatisfied with prospects for success in the Chaco after seven years of bitter struggle. They decided to look for brighter prospects elsewhere in Paraguay. Committees were appointed from among those who wished to leave the Chaco to explore various possibilities in eastern Paraguay. After several investigatory expeditions, they selected land about 40 miles east of Rosario and about 70 miles north of Asuncion. If these people had not been so desperately poor or if they would have had financial assistance, they would likely have settled in the southeastern part of Paraguay which has a more favorable rainfall, fertile soil, and generally excellent agricultural possibilities. The choice of land which they made was actually determined by the financial terms which they could get in securing a large enough tract of land on which to settle. The name of the colony reflects their earlier

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Dutch background in that it is taken from Friesland in Holland.

In 1937, 748 Fernheimers left the Chaco and took up residence in eastern Paraguay. This decision was made in the face of direct discouragement by the Mennonite Central Committee in North America, which refused to give any financial help to any settlers leaving the Chaco. The Fernheim colonists who wished to remain also looked on this exodus as a threat to their new and feeble colony. Actually, the leaving of the Friesland group turned out to be a blessing since it thinned out the ranks of the colonists and allowed those who remained to have larger cleared acreage on which to farm.

Table No. 7

Friesland Demographic Data: 1938-1958 (By five-year intervals)

	1938	1943	1948	1953	1958
Inhabitants	754	862	970	1072	955
Villages	9	9	9	10	10
Farms	145	154	168	201	203
Families	146	163	174	204	190
Marriages	7	12	8	22	3
Births	34	31	14	22	36
Deaths	6	4	2	4	5
Arrived	—	—	47	13	5
Left	—	—	12	60	85
Elementary Schools	2	2	5	5	5
Pupils in Elem. School	74	166	181	165	128
Pupils in High School	—	—	24	34	29

The emigrant-minded Fernheimers who moved to Friesland had a deep conviction that their greater proximity to Asuncion as a market for their products would give them a considerable advantage over their former isolated location in the Chaco. They felt that the climate and agricultural conditions also would be more favorable. Some farmers were also opposed to compulsory membership in the colony cooperative in Fernheim. Many were determined not to organize a cooperative in Fries-

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Table No. 8

Friesland Agricultural Data: 1938-1958

(By five-year intervals)

	1938	1943	1948	1953	1958
<i>Acreages Planted</i>					
Kaffir	—	115.2	288.0	430.0	303.0
Corn	124.8	398.4	480.0	775.0	1,185.0
<i>Yield in Pounds</i>					
Kaffir	176,000	506,000	770,000	688,000	484,000
Corn	—	103,400	299,200	1,224,000	2,184,400
<i>Trees</i>					
Oranges	2,551	4,000	4,500	3,179	2,361
Grapevines	—	—	982	—	812
Peaches	—	330	570	703	866
Paraiso	—	—	—	—	—

Table No. 9

Friesland Domestic Animal Census: 1938-1958

(By five-year intervals)

	1938	1943	1948	1953	1958
Horses	262	348	482	598	551
Cattle	1,025	1,629	3,257	3,871	4,121
Pigs	116	388	503	478	320
Chickens	2,227	5,227	5,308	10,800	5,863

land, or if one were organized not to become a member. Actually later they found out that a cooperative was essential and formed one after trying vainly for a number of years to buy and sell on an individual basis. The same organizational pattern and the same institutions were organized in Friesland as were found in Fernheim. These included schools, hospitals, and churches as well as their colony cooperative and system of political organization by village and colony.

After a first fifteen years of difficult struggle, the colony was

Successful Immigrant Group Settlements

Table No. 10

Friesland Farm Implements: 1938-1958

(By five-year intervals)

	1938	1943	1948	1953	1958
Farm Wagons	115	99	120	141	126
Buggies	—	2	9	25	47
Plows	135	134	142	165	130
Cultivators	119	115	114	128	130
Seeders	9	14	12	37	18
Harrows	94	93	93	95	78
Tractors	0	0	0	1	5
Trucks and Jeeps	0	0	0	0	8
Refrigerators	0	0	0	0	3
Radios	0	0	0	0	15

fortunate to secure an outstandingly capable administrator and at the same time substantial amounts of financial loans with which to launch significant economic programs. At the present time there is general optimism among colony leaders and members. There is evidence of numerical and economic growth and some evidence that suggests a promising future.

VOLENDAM

One of the more recent and the largest immigrant group ever to settle in the Alto Paraguay region is the colony Volendam. About 1,800 refugee immigrants arrived in Paraguay in 1947 and 1948 to make up this colony. They had much the same history as those in colony Neuland which will be discussed later in the chapter. The members of the two colonies came from the same place in Russia, endured the same experiences in concentration and refugee camps, and even came over on the same ships. The name Volendam was taken from the name of one of the ships which brought many of the settlers to Paraguay from European ports.

The Mennonite Central Committee of North America provided a great deal of help to the settlers at Volendam as it did to Neuland and to Fernheim seventeen years earlier. From

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the time of the arrival of the refugees in Western Germany from Russia, the Mennonite Central Committee began to work with the prospective colonists. The Neuland and Volendam people would have preferred to go to Canada where many of their relatives had previously gone, but the doors of Canada and United States were not open.

The Volendam Colonists came to Paraguay because it offered a way of escape from their plight as temporary refugees in Germany. Many of the Volendam colonists were quartered in Berlin where they were in constant danger of being seized by the Russians and forcibly returned to Russia. When they were given a choice of leaving Berlin and going to Paraguay or remaining in Berlin and waiting for an opportunity to go to a more attractive country, they chose to go to Paraguay. The Paraguayan Government continued to guarantee the same privileges to the 1947 and 1948 immigrants as it had to the first Mennonites who had come in 1926 and 1930.

The Mennonite Central Committee had purchased 23,110 acres of land eight miles north of the Paraguay River port of Rosario. This land extended from the river in an eastward direction thus affording the colony their own river port, a small boat stop known as Mbopicua. The land was surveyed and laid out in villages. The villages in turn were divided into farms, each farm containing approximately 30 acres of land. Each village elected its own "Schulz," or head man, and from the village heads were chosen representatives to constitute a colony council. The property owners in the colony elected the council members and the "Oberschulze," or colony governor. The "Oberschulze" devoted practically full time to colony administration.

Some of the Volendam settlers were detained up to eight months in Buenos Aires in temporary barracks, and others were able to get as far as Asuncion before their progress was impeded by the revolution. Some of the refugees in Asuncion were housed in a government school in San Lorenzo several miles east of the city while others were housed in a large, new unoccupied textile mill in Asuncion. A group of 412 refugees arriving in March of 1947 were given permission by the government forces in command of the Asuncion area to proceed as far north as Rosario. This group was then met by the Friesland

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colonists and hauled in wagons to the Friesland colony for temporary shelter, from which place they began to establish their new homes.

The Volendam colony was officially established on July 1, 1947, by those who had been allowed to go on the land. Additional colonists joined them as they were able to enter the country or make progress toward their destination if they had been detained. By 1950 the Volendam population numbered 1800 souls.

Because of its favorable location on the river and its proximity to Asuncion, the Volendam colony would seem to have the greatest promise of success, yet the fact is that it has the most disappointing record of all seven Mennonite colonies. One of the serious handicaps has been its lack of capable and consistent leadership. Again and again its more able leaders have migrated to Canada, as have also many of its stronger families. This naturally weakened the morale of the colony and diminished the group numerically.

Between 1947 and 1958, 223 families consisting of 1281 persons left Volendam so that by January 1, 1961, the colony's population was down to 800. Sometimes entire villages were abandoned. Most of the exits were to Canada, some to Brazil, and a few returned to Germany. There was a constant barrage of invitations from relatives in Canada encouraging their friends and relatives to join them and even offering to advance passage money. They gave glowing accounts of good paying jobs and good schools and churches awaiting the refugees in Canada. All this plus the extreme hardships the settlers encountered in Paraguay made it difficult for those remaining to settle down to the serious business of developing permanent homes, clearing lands, and digging in to establish a successful colony. While it seems sure that some of the colonists will remain permanently and the emigration "fever" will subside, the colony will suffer for many years from its unfavorable beginning.

As of 1960, the colony was receiving outside assistance of major significance. An organization of North American Mennonite businessmen known as MEDA (Mennonite Economic Development Associates) has interested itself in providing administrative counsel, financial support, and expert personnel in an effort to reorganize the colony and stabilize it economi-

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cally. MEDA has sent an experienced administrator in Agricultural Production Credit in the United States to help the Volendam farmers. Capital has been provided on a loan basis to enterprising farmers as crop loans. As repayment is made, a revolving loan fund is to be created. In addition, MEDA agreed to invest up to \$25,000 in an effort to revive and firmly

Table No. 11

Volendam Demographic Data: 1948- 1958

	1948	1953	1958
Inhabitants	1,172	1,683	1,067
Villages	12	15	13
Farms	295	397	241
Families	295	403	253
Marriages	10	11	9
Births	18	56	33
Deaths	11	10	5
Arrived	588	0	1
Left	66	180	150
Elementary Schools	8	7	4
Elementary School Pupils	224	208	108
High School Students	—	62	33

Table No. 12

Volendam Agricultural Data: 1948-1958

	1948	1953	1958
<i>Acreage Planted</i>			
Corn	123	464	697
Kaffir	106	671	130
<i>Yield in Pounds</i>			
Corn	4,180	4,180	2,789
Kaffir	—	3,960	5,149
<i>Trees</i>			
Fruit Trees Planted	—	—	6,814
Shade Trees Planted	—	—	1,701

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establish a rice plantation project which had earlier been attempted by the colonists but had not, for a variety of reasons, succeeded.

This effort is being carried on in close cooperation with the Mennonite Central Committee. Although too early to predict

Table No. 13

Volendam Domestic Animals Census: 1948-1958

	1948	1953	1958
Horses	307	846	582
Cattle	514	2,779	6,951
Pigs	110	998	385
Chickens	1,697	8,538	7,405

Table No. 14

Volendam Farm Implements: 1948-1958

	1948	1953	1958
Farm Wagons	42	246	145
Buggies	—	0	25
Plows	48	—	167
Harrows	6	—	87
Cultivators	1	—	158

the outcome, this outside assistance promises to be a turning point in the history of the colony. It is a needed catalyst for the discouraged colonists in that it is reducing internal wrangling to a great extent and is providing cause for optimism throughout the colony. An energetic young minister has been chosen colony leader. MEDA is assisting with marketing of farm products and morale in general is noticeably improving.

The above tables clearly show the severe decline in the colony's population and in practically every other area of colony life. In the decade between 1948 and 1958, a total of 1281

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persons left the Volendam colony. Approximately 750 migrated to Canada, some moved to Brazil, a few to Argentina, some returned to Germany, and others settled in other Mennonite colonies in Paraguay or moved to Asuncion. This accounted for the decline in agricultural production, livestock, and farm implements. Volendam has a 30-bed hospital, a resident doctor, a primary and secondary school system, and a colony co-operative. The colony has suffered from lack of strong and continuous leadership by capable men.

PEDRO JUAN CABALLERO

Close to this town is a gigantic American financed coffee plantation where a sizable number of Japanese are settled. The coffee enterprise is known as CAFE, the name derived from the first letters in the words of the legal name of the corporation. Development of the enterprise was begun in 1953 by an enterprising Texan by the name of Clarence Johnson. In 1959 there were over 600,000 acres planted in coffee trees. These had required from four to five years to be cared for before bearing fruit. To clear the virgin wooded rolling land in this east central area of Paraguay on the Brazilian-Paraguayan border, Johnson induced large numbers of people to come as laborers. Immigrants from Japan, Brazilians from across the border, and Paraguayans of various backgrounds were attracted to this venture. In addition to CAFE there was a variety of smaller coffee growing ventures, most of them owned by small corporations or individual entrepreneurs.

All of these coffee growing ventures together caused the Pedro Juan Caballero area to take on the character of a boom town, not unlike the feverish activity caused by discovery of oil or gold. The sudden influx of heterogeneous groups of opportunists and fortune seekers with a minimum of regard for law and order naturally caused numerous problems of social organization. It is against this setting that we need to see the present Japanese settlement.

In 1956, there were 123 Japanese families listed in Pedro Juan Caballero. This number increased in the following two years, but any gains were offset by those who became discouraged and left. There was a constant influx of new members

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and departure of old ones so that the actual number of Japanese at any one time was not constant.

The Japanese settlers were in most cases brought directly from Japan to Santos, Brazil, by boat and overland from Sao Paulo to Pedro Juan Caballero by train. Since the settlers came to virgin land, they could not immediately support themselves. Two ways were employed to handle the settlers. One method was to hire the workers and pay them low but fixed wages. The other method was to enter a contract for a four-year period whereby the settler received the total coffee crop the third year as his wage plus the right to use the land between the coffee trees for growing vegetables which then could be sold and the income therefrom retained. Under the contract arrangement wages had to be paid also during the first two years until the land could be cleared and vegetables grown. In exchange for this wage, the immigrant settler first had to clear the land and then plant and care for from 3500 to 5000 coffee trees.

Most of the Japanese brought to Pedro Juan Caballero were not farmers. As a consequence, many were keenly disappointed as were the administrators of CAFE. Some of the new arrivals immediately set to work and industriously devoted themselves to growing vegetables and with the cash derived therefrom bought and paid for their land. A group of the Japanese formed a cooperative and bought a truck and started a vegetable market in the town of Pedro Juan Caballero. Some continued to depend on CAFE for wages, but the heavy cost of maintaining hundreds of families for several years before receiving any income from the sale of coffee financially strained the huge coffee corporation to the point of bankruptcy. As a consequence, wages owed could often not be paid. This contributed to unrest and ill feelings. Many of the Japanese along with others who had been attracted there decided to leave. Many of the Japanese went to Brazilian cities or to some of the older and more established Japanese colonies in Brazil.

The entire CAFE community has many of the characteristics of a "company town" familiar in American industrial centers in an earlier day. There is no effective social organization in the total community. CAFE attempted to provide a minimum of education and medical care. There have been several faint

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efforts at religious organization, but this too has had very little success. Recreation is created largely by small informal local groups or is individually pursued.

The Japanese have perhaps the most group consciousness in that they speak the same language, conduct special classes to teach the Japanese language, and around these classes provide limited recreation. As a Japanese colony Pedro Juan Caballero will likely continue. The coffee economy of the area will undoubtedly find its long-time normal level after CAFE is successfully reorganized. Many of the dissident elements will either leave or adjust satisfactorily to their environment. Of all the new and old immigrants in this area none have been more successful than the Japanese. In addition to carving out new homes for themselves, they have contributed to the economy by converting the raw wooded hilly land of the area into productive farms. Their surplus products provide the needed food for the nonagricultural population.

Colonies in the Villarrica Region

It will be noted that the German group settlements in the Villarrica region are loosely organized. These Germanic groups have less of a colony character than most of the German settlements in Paraguay. This is accounted for in part by the widely diversified backgrounds from which these Germans come and by the strong spirit of individualism of the settlers. Farmers do not live in agricultural villages but on scattered individual farmsteads. Villarrica, as a city, is one of the older and larger centers around which German-speaking people have congregated for the past century.

INDEPENDENCIA

This colony is one of the larger and more successful German colonization efforts in Paraguay. These colonists were organized in Berlin by the German Immigration Society with the intention of founding a closed German colony in Paraguay. It was to be modeled somewhat on the order of Hohenau, and there was great hope that other German colonies would be established in this tropical region of east central Paraguay. The majority of original immigrants in the colony were from the

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German colonial settlements in Africa. After World War I when Germany lost her African colonial empire, many of the German colonists decided to leave Africa. The Paraguayan Government made available 25,000 acres free in 25-50 acre plots.

Independencia is located 12-15 miles northeast of the city of Villarrica which is approximately 100 miles directly east of Asuncion. The first settlers took possession of their land in January, 1920. Family names found among these first settlers were Wehrle, Mueller, Wolff, Eybang, Berger, Bertrand, and Foerster. Three of the first families left soon after arrival and gave a very negative report of the poor economic possibilities existing in this area. In spite of this, during the first year additional east African families came to Independencia so that by the end of 1920 there was a total of 146 settlers. In the next year 40 additional persons came, including Dr. E. T. Foerster, the organizer of the German East African immigration movement. He helped greatly to build the colony by his unstinting service.

The colony encountered many extremely difficult situations from the very beginning. They found agricultural conditions quite different from that to which they had been accustomed. Great hardships were encountered in clearing, plowing, and planting the land. An even greater source of discouragement was the large number of families constantly leaving the colony. For a time the number of families leaving was greater than the number coming. Fortunately other immigrants with different occupational skills came from Germany and joined the colony.

In 1924, an influx of South Germans began. These colonists were blessed with unusually large families which were exceedingly valuable sources of labor supply in developing this frontier land. They began with yerba culture but soon shifted to the grape growing and wine industry, knowledge of which they brought with them from Europe. This became by far the greatest source of income for the colony. By 1930 all the land in the 25,000 acre plot had been taken up. The colony did not remain a closed colony. By 1937, the total population of about 2,500 was about half German and half Paraguayan.

The political subdivision of Independencia as of 1950 had a population of 6,329. Of this number it is estimated that

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approximately 600 were of German and Austrian stock. Only three families originating in German East Africa still remain in the colony today.

The chief agricultural production in the colony is wine and the yerba mate. In addition, the colony produces corn, cotton, mandioca, and oranges as well as some eggs and dairy products. The colony has 27 tractors, other agricultural implements, and 11 trucks and several privately owned busses operating between Independencia and Villarrica, which provide colony freight service to Villarrica, Asuncion, and Encarnacion.

The colony is not separately organized but is a regular part of the political subsystem of Paraguay. The colonists do not maintain a separate school or in any way identify themselves as a closed colony. The chief source of identifying the colonists is by their German language, culture, and customs. There is considerable intermarriage, but still the majority of the Germans marry Germans and the Paraguayans marry Paraguayans. All of the colonists speak Spanish and participate in the cultural life of the community in general.

CARLOS PFANNL

The favorable although slow development of Independencia stimulated other German colonies in Paraguay. Already in 1930, the Paraguayan Government set aside 2,500 acres of land for a new settlement. In 1933, the group of people who had settled on this land were given the name Carlos Pfannl, after one of their leaders. Up to that time they were considered a part of the larger Independencia settlement. Carlos, after one of their leaders. Up to that time they were considered a part of the larger Independencia settlement. Carlos Pfannl was fortunate to have the leadership of Albert Voss, a capable person who was able to build up interest in the colonization venture. In 1932 there were 52 lots surveyed as possibilities for individual farms. These were claimed during that year and by 1934 the number had risen to 127.

The settlers for this colony came for the most part from Austria, with some also from Germany and Sudetenland. In 1934 Carlos Pfannl, with a group of social democrats from Vienna who had lost their land in the February revolution of that country, came to the colony. In this group were also several Jews. Voss, however, was able to get these different back-

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ground groups to work together. His clear vision of a goal and his strong influence enabled him to get the colony established on a sound basis. An economic council and an administrative committee were organized. A permanent colony government was set up and a post office established. Later on a livestock commission was organized to help farmers market their cattle. So in a short time Carlos Pfannl developed extensively and much more rapidly than other colonies that had undertaken settlement in Paraguay.

The agricultural interests of the colony tended toward cotton, but yerba, wine, and citrus fruit growing were also a part of the agricultural production. Because of the skillful management of the pasture land in the colony, cattle raising developed and became a major source of income. Marketing in the colony took place through the colony stores which were in the hands of some of the Jewish members of the colony. The colony had two sawmills as part of its lumbering industry. One of the problems of most colonists was the lack of capital. Fortunately, due to good management, this did not penalize this colony as it did some of the others. In 1937, there were approximately 700 persons in the colony of whom 300 were Germans. The colony is not a closed colony, and today the percentage of Paraguayans in ratio to Germans is much greater than in 1937.

SUDETIA

Already in 1933, a number of Paraguayans had settled on private lands in an area close to Carlos Pfannl. The private land was owned by a French-Swiss person by the name of George Naville. Refugees from Czechoslovakia, after Hitler's German Government had seized that country, constituted the major source of immigrants for this particular colony. Under the Paraguayan settlers, the name of the colony was Passo Yobei.

In 1934, when the Sudeten settlers came, they changed the name to Sudetia.

The colony had a weak beginning and found growth very slow. One of the weaknesses was the lack of colony leadership. This made it difficult for the Sudeten Germans to overcome the difficulties of colonization on the new frontier. The first leader, a man by the name of Peters, had worked out a reasonably good plan in Germany, but he did not understand

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the difficult situation in Paraguay and was not able to successfully carry out his plan. Reports of the difficulties of this settlement came back to Germany and this discouraged other immigrants from moving to Paraguay. Another difficulty that hindered these settlers was the fact that many of them were not farmers but craftsmen who had been used to living and earning their living in cities.

The colony was fortunate to be connected by road with Carlos Pfannl and Villarrica and thus to Asuncion. The chief source of income in the colony was cotton. There was also some production of vegetables and fruits and a considerable amount of grape growing and wine making. An indication of the fact that these people were not farmers in background is illustrated by a listing of the skills of a number of the colonists; three were merchants, one a mason, one a carpenter, one a tailor, one a photographer, plus a variety of other special skills. In 1938 the colony numbered 48 families or 190 persons. Since that time a great many of these have left the colony and gone to Asuncion, to Argentina, or back to Germany.

5

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Colonies in the Alto Parana (Encarnacion) Region

HOHENAU

The largest and possibly the most successful settlement in Paraguay until the coming of the Mennonites in the late 20's, early 30's, and late 40's was Hohenau. Wilhelm Closs, a German from the state of Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil, and his fellow German associate, a man by name of Reverchon from the Encarnacion area, established this colony. A grant of 74,000 acres of land was given to these two men with the understanding that they would locate German colonists on it. On March 14, 1900, the first three of twelve German families from Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil settled in Hohenau. That same year a malaria epidemic hit the colony so that some left, others died, and at the end of the year only four families remained. Closs left the colony and turned over management of it to a capable German by the name of Estavan Scholler who was able to encourage large numbers of other German colonists to come from Brazil. Fortunately, many of them stayed.

The colony is located 35 miles north of the city of Encarnacion and is connected with the city by a good gravel-top road which can be traveled any time except immediately after rains. The shape of the colony is a peculiar rectangle extending about 25 miles west from the Parana River. The width of the colony is between two and three miles. Most of the families are settled on either side of this road for the 25-mile stretch.

Hohenau was designed as a model colony for Germans in the Encarnacion area. For the first few years native Paraguayans were not permitted in the colony. About the time of World War I, Paraguayans and Germans began to intermarry. Mixed settlement slowly began until today there is a rather free mixing of Paraguayans and Germans. The Paraguayan

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Government provided no help during the colony's first 50 years. The colonists had to provide their own schools, their own law enforcement, and regulate life in general. It was only after World War II that the Paraguayan Government began to supply and pay schoolteachers as well as to provide police protection. A magistrate generally organized the political life of the colony with the aid of the colony council. Hohenau is in the political department or state of Jesus and Trinidad.

In 1956, one of the successful farmer-businessmen in the colony was appointed the colony administrator. As such, he was employed and paid by the Paraguayan Government. Since then, the colony has developed a greater sense of stability politically, and the money paid in taxes has been used for community development. Previously there had been complaint of political corruption and failure to advance economically. The colony leaders in 1959 stated that the main goals of Hohenau were to get electric current and a hospital, neither of which the colony now has. While most of the colonists still depend on horses and wagons for transportation, the number of motor vehicles is steadily increasing. At the beginning of 1959, there were 67 motor vehicles, mostly trucks, in the colony.

The chief agricultural products through the years have been yerba, sugar cane, pork, milk products, eggs, and liquor. In recent years tung nut oil has also been an important product. The long stretch of road extending west from the river has been a means of getting agricultural products to market. Before the advent of the highway, steamers and launches stopped at the colony port and picked up products for the market and again brought supplies back to the colony. A freight launch formerly made the run three times a week between Puerto Hohenau and Encarnacion. The colonists have over the years raised corn, rice, tobacco, oranges, bananas, and vegetables, as well as the yerba and sugar cane. As early as 1920, there were small industries including sawmills, saddler shops, and distilleries. This colony was well described in 1920 by Schurz in a commercial handbook published by the Department of Commerce.

"The colony contains about 1,500 inhabitants, of whom 815 are German speaking and the remainder mostly Paraguayans.

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Of the German element, 479 are classed German-Brazilians. These immigrants from southern Brazil, who had passed through the hard school of the pioneer in Rio Grande do Sul and Parana, form the backbone of the colony. They are an unusually hardy and industrious lot and have made the colony the best in the entire Republic. The farms, which have been cleared from the virgin forest, are well cultivated. The colonists live in neat frame houses with well-kept yards and gardens, and the colony in general presents an appearance of well-being and comfort. The colonists have carefully conserved their German traditions and speech. They maintain two schools, in which little attention was paid to the teaching of Spanish until the Paraguayan authorities insisted on instruction being given in that language. There is also a singing society and a schuetzen club."¹

Forty years after the above description, Hohenau has approximately 3,200 inhabitants which indicates a doubling of the population in a 40-year period. The president of the colony and the local pastor, who served as informants for much of the information about present-day Hohenau, indicated that about 80 per cent of the present inhabitants were of German stock. This would indicate either that Schurz's estimate of the number of Paraguayans in the colony in 1920 was entirely too high or that the colony leader's estimate was in error.

Neither the people in Hohenau nor those in the other colonies described in this section settled in villages. Only the colony centers have anything resembling a village. Here the school, churches, and business places are located. The majority of the colony members are farmers living on isolated farmsteads. Hohenau is the mother colony of Obligado, Bella Vista, and Fordii. These four colonies together cover a 25-mile radius. They operate in many respects as one large cultural, economic, and political group.

Hohenau in 1960 had 10 starch factories, 3 yerba mills, approximately 50 yerba drying facilities, 200 tung nut storehouses, 1 shoe factory, 3 tanneries, 4 sawmills, 4 stores, and several tailors and shoemakers.

¹Schurz, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

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CAPITAN MEZA

A German speculator, Frederick Christian Mayntzhusen, established a small colony of people on his own land in 1907 with a number of Hohenau and German-Brazilian families. This settlement carried the name Mayntzhusen until 1928. In 1914 Mayntzhusen went back to Germany. The colony experienced no growth until his return in 1923 when he attempted to further the development of the colony.

The colony is located about 75 miles south of Encarnacion. The 14,000-acre tract originally granted to Mayntzhusen was based on a 1909 law entitled "A law for the reduction of native tribes." Under the terms of the grant the concessionaire pledged not only to introduce white settlers but to attempt to "civilize" the Indians located on the land granted. The Indians consisted of the Caingues, a pacific type, and the Guayaquies, a more intractable tribe. Land in 1920 sold for \$2.35 an acre. At this time there were about 150 persons in the colony, mostly Germans. By 1938, the size of the colony had grown to about 100 families, most of them still German.

Agricultural production consists chiefly of yerba, soybeans, pork, and honey.

CAMBYRETA

This German settlement lies 10 miles southeast from Encarnacion along the Paraguay Central Railway. It was established in 1911 by a family by the name of Gassner who came directly from Germany. In 1912 eleven additional families settled here and in 1913 and 1914 still more families joined the small group. During World War I there was little immigration from Europe, but German settlers from Brazil came to Cambyreta. Unfortunately, most of the people who settled here were not farmers. For this reason soon after some of the immigrants came, they forsook the colony and moved to Encarnacion and other cities where they could follow their own vocational calling.

Cambyreta was for a time referred to as an artists' colony because it contained artists, musicians, scholars, and other intellectuals. The colony was looked upon as something of a cultural center. When compared with Hohenau, the farmers

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in this area did not take to their agricultural work quite as earnestly. For a time the colony had great hardships. Some of the farmers derived income from working in the forests and clearing the land and thus selling some of the wood. Later the dairy industry was developed and milk, cheese, and butter were supplied for people in Encarnacion.

At first the colony was organized as an independent political unit, but in 1921 it was annexed to the administrative district of Encarnacion. Following some critical years in 1922 and 1923, the colony gained strength and began cultivating vegetables as well as pursuing the dairy industry. Grapes for wine production became more significant. The colony in 1937 had two flour mills, a sawmill, four yerba drying plants, a yerba mill, a carpenter, a shoemaker, a blacksmith, a saddler, and a distillery. At that time also there were approximately 450 Germans in the area. Cambyreta had a German school. In the late 1930's and early 1940's, it became a strong center for Nazi activity. During the latter part of World War II, the school was closed and the German Bund activities discontinued. Today many of the individual families are relatively prosperous, but the sense of community consciousness is lacking. A mission school under the sponsorship of the Mennonites has been organized.

OBLIGADO

About three miles north of Hohenau lies another German colony, Obligado, named after a pastor who was one of the early settlement leaders. The first German settler in this colony was Christian Dickel, a German-Brazilian who established himself in Obligado on February 1, 1912. He was followed by a large number of other Germans from Brazil as well as settlers directly from Germany. Obligado and the colonies Hohenau, Bella Vista, and Fordii compose one economic and cultural unit. The four colonies banded together in 1953 to form a farmers, producers, marketing, and consumers cooperative. The cooperative at the time of this writing had over 400 members. It has four branches located in various parts of the colony. In addition to a store, it has a tung oil press and a yerba mill for screening and drying yerba.

The cooperative has had a tremendous invigorating influence

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on the colony. In spite of its very difficult beginnings and the great indifference and much opposition on the part of many colonists, it is now economically well established and is demonstrating its financial advantage to the colonists. By means of the cooperative, the various products can be centrally marketed. The yerba tea is packaged and exported to other parts of Paraguay directly from the colony. The cash income per farmer has significantly increased and thus given new life and vigor to Hohenau and the three nearby daughter colonies. In addition to the higher prices and better market outlet, the cooperative provides employment for approximately 70 men, most of them Paraguayans.

A privately organized Catholic school for elementary and high school grades was established in Obligado. This school is supported by Catholics in the various surrounding areas and exists along with the public schools.

BELLA VISTA

This daughter colony of Hohenau was established in 1917 by Erdmann Fischer. The predominant population element is still German although, as in Obligado and Hohenau, there is a large mixture of Paraguayan families. The economy of this colony, like that of its neighbors, is based on yerba mate, tung oil, corn, and fruits. There is some dairy farming and egg production although this is relatively unimportant.

Several of the leaders of these German colonies thought there was still much opportunity for immigrants without money and without land in eastern Paraguay. They said that with the timber on the land, one could pay for two and a half acres with a single large tree. Comparatively few Germans have left the colonies in recent years. The colony leaders felt that few countries afforded better opportunity for immigrant colonists without funds to get a start on the land than eastern Paraguay. One informant estimated that in the entire composite of the four colonies, there were approximately 1,000 families consisting of about 5,000 people. The colonies are referred to as villages one, two, three, and four, but they are not separately organized. The four villages do not meet as a single group for social or other purposes. In fact, there is comparatively little social life within the community when com-

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pared with a similarly sized social unit in North America.

Governmentally, Hohenau and its associate colonies are a part of the Paraguayan political system. The colony president and the police chief are appointed from Asuncion and are under the political jurisdiction known as the Department of Jesus and Trinidad. Hohenau represents one of Paraguay's most successful colonization efforts. Not only has this colony held its own, it has grown steadily over the years and furnished many members for daughter colonies. It has also been one of the strongest colonies economically. Its favorable location with regard to production and marketing of its apicultural products is most significant as an explanation for its success.

JESUS AND TRINIDAD

Jesus and Trinidad are two of the smaller German settlements. Jesus is located along the northern border of Hohenau on the site of one of the old Jesuit "reducciones." Although close enough to Hohenau to learn colonization techniques, these settlers never prospered as did their neighboring German colonies. They seem never to have had the strong leadership nor plan of development that characterized Hohenau.

Yerba production is the chief agricultural industry. In 1938, there were approximately 45 German families in the settlement plus a large number of Paraguayan families. In the last twenty years, the number of German families has decreased while the number of Paraguayan families has increased.

SAN MIGUEL

In the general Alto Parana area is another German settlement known as San Miguel de Curuzu. This small settlement lies about halfway between Encarnacion and the colony of Cambyreta. It was originally a Paraguayan settlement. Approximately 25 German families, consisting of 70 individuals, established a dairy industry and produced vegetables for the city of Encarnacion. Because the land had previously been cleared by the Paraguayan settlers, the Germans in this colony did not have quite the difficulty of those who first had to clear their own land. The colony was never a closed colony because Paraguayan people always lived among the German families. There was at one time a small Catholic church in the settlement as

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well as a small German school. The German settlement cannot be considered a great success, but it has maintained itself economically. Today there are probably 25 German families living in the area.

ALBORADO

A strictly German colony was established in 1924 in the forest area known as Alborado. It was established on the land of the company known as Herrera and Vegas located approximately 20 miles east of Encarnacion. As early as 1916, different Brazilian and Swiss Germans investigated settlement possibilities in this area. A few families actually lived there temporarily but moved away again. The colony seems to have had a difficult time getting started. Of the first 40 German families which came originally out of Rhineland, Germany, only one family today remains in Alborado. Also of those families from Augsburg and Pomerania in Germany which settled here only a very few families remain. It seemed, however, that all the farmsteads vacated by the earlier German settlers were later reoccupied by newcomers.

One of the things that made beginning difficult is that very few of the early settlers were farmers. Those colonists who remained were experiencing a great deal of difficulty in clearing their land as well as in understanding the nature of the soil and the climatic conditions of the area. Again and again they found themselves in difficulty when it came to paying for land out of their earnings. The land company selling them the farms tried in different ways to help them. They introduced the growing of sugar cane, but this did not work out. In 1937, the original company sold out to new owners and this again complicated the settlers' payment problems.

The colonists finally concentrated chiefly on yerba production, but discovered during the depression years of the 1930's that the price was too low to enable them to make economic progress. They found, also, that because of the distance from a market their location was unfavorable for the production of milk. The sale of poultry and eggs and of pork products also was not profitable. Because agricultural production was unsuccessful, industry also was never strong in the colony. It was confined to small handcraft, sawmills, flour mills, and a small brick factory. The colony at the time of its greatest strength in the middle '30's con-

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sisted of about 300 people, 175 of whom were German and 125 Paraguayan.

FRAM (Polish-Russian)

There have been a variety of European and Asiatic immigrants settled over the years in the colony Fram located in the Alto Parana region. Since 1927, it is estimated that over a thousand Europeans have settled there. Among these are Poles, Russians, Czechs, and Germans. The entire settled area represents about 37,000 acres. Colony Fram is located between the forested areas and the shores of the Parana River north of Encarnacion. One of the older Russian families still remaining there indicated that the first Russians came in 1927. In that group were nine families. At the time everything was still uncleared bushland. Most of these so-called Russians were really Polish-Russians from Volhynia. They left that section of Europe in order to escape the Bolshevik Revolution and the tyranny of Communism after World War I.

Most of these people lived for a number of years in Argentina, because at first they were not admitted to Paraguay. An old Russian settler estimated that at one time over 200 Polish-Russian families lived in the Alto Parana area. In 1959, he estimated that there were not more than 19 of these families left. Most of them had moved to Encarnacion, Asuncion, Buenos Aires, or had returned to Europe. Thus, the story of the Polish-Russians is very similar to that of the Germans in the several colonies previously described.

Since 1955 this general area has been invaded by a new immigrant stock, namely, the Japanese. As far north as the area around Capitan Mesa, Japanese have bought land and settled in substantial numbers.

FEDERICO CHAVES

In 1955, the Japanese Migration Company bought 37,500 acres of land from the Paraguayan Government for the purpose of settling Japanese colonists. Sixty-two acre tracts were sold to the immigrants at about \$5.60 an acre which was to be paid over a four-year period. The Migration Company built roads, surveyed the land, and helped establish the companies. The Japanese Government built schools, and the Paraguayan Govern-

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ment provided teachers and paid their salaries. All the land in the first block was sold by 1958, and the development company bought an additional tract of 590,000 acres on which it hoped to establish 600 additional Japanese families.

The Chaves colony had a great variety of vocations represented among its members. Few of the immigrants had been farmers in Japan. Corn, yerba, grapefruit, oranges of all kinds, and some tung nuts are produced. The colony has a cooperative but lacks strong central political organization. There is no formal religious organization, and medical facilities are inadequate. Representatives of the Migration Company spoke optimistically about the future of this and other Japanese colonization efforts, but many of the colonists were, and still are, genuinely dissatisfied. The following account related to the writer by one of the discontented young would-be colonists tells its own story.

"I came with my father and mother as one of four children to Paraguay from Tokyo. In our group were 21 other Japanese. We came in August of 1955. Some of the men were farmers, some fishermen, several were carpenters, barbers, and policemen. Many had tried to leave Japan since 1954 because conditions in Japan were bad. We were, however, not able to get permission to enter because of my father's age and because we four children were not yet married. The Japanese government, however, was encouraging emigration. We were warned by immigration officials that life would be difficult. All of us were supposed to settle in Colonia Federico Chaves, but we decided to buy the improved farms of the older Polish-Russian settlers who were leaving the Colony Capitan Miranda, established about 1935-36. These settlers told us they wanted to return to Russia. We Japanese didn't know at the time why they wanted to sell.

We paid 110,000 guaranies (approximately \$1,000) for 50 acres of land, about half cleared and the other half uncleared. In addition, we got the livestock, a sawmill, and the buildings. My brothers and my father operated the sawmill, and I tried to operate the farm. After trying hard for three years and not seeing any progress nor any hope in the future, I decided to leave. My one older brother went to Buenos Aires to become a radio mechanic. My one sister took a job in a Farmacia in Encarnacion while my father and other brother are still operating the farm and the sawmill, but both are unsatisfied."

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FRAM (Japanese)

This is one of the two most recently formed Japanese group settlements. It is, in part, a case of population succession, since much of what comprises this colony had formerly been occupied by other nationality groups. Previous settlers either abandoned or sold their holdings and moved on.

Some of the Japanese took over these improved and semi-improved lands with the hope of getting a more rapid economic start than would be possible if the land first had to be cleared and roads built. The members of this group are not a colony strictly speaking in the sense that they are settled in a compact geographical area or organized economically, socially, religiously, or politically. Their chief identifying factor is their race, language, and common experience as new arrivals from the same country.

The unoccupied land was divided into farm homesteads which varied in size from 62 to 250 acres. Most of the farms averaged about 100 acres, but colonists felt they should be a minimum of 125 acres. The price in dollars at the present rate of exchange would have been approximately \$6 an acre. The land was to be paid for in two years with six per cent interest. The colonists asked for an extension of time to five years and a reduction of the interest rate to five per cent. Approximately 50 families left the colony, and some complained about the poor soil on portions of their farms and refused to pay for it. The Japanese Migration Company, which was promoting the project, had heavy expenses with surveying the land, building roads, and erecting colony headquarters buildings. In addition, there were unexpected difficulties due to floods and the after-effects of mud deposits on roads and fields.

Colonies in the Chaco

MENNO

Menno colony was the first Mennonite colony in South America. It was established by a group of conservative Old Colony Mennonites from the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan in Canada.² These immigrants, whose parents had migrated

²The name "Old Colony" refers to the fact that these people stem from the oldest Mennonite colony (Chortitza) in Russia.

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from Russia to Canada in the 1870's, felt that their religious freedoms were being threatened in Canada. They had been looking for a new home for a number of years prior to their decision to come to Paraguay. The detailed story of why they came to Paraguay and under what circumstances they happened to select the Chaco is told in greater detail elsewhere.³

The Menno colony bought land from the Casado Company, a large quebracho extracting firm with extensive land holdings in the Chaco. The place of settlement was extremely isolated then and still is today. From Puerto Casado about 200 miles north of Asuncion on the Paraguay River, the immigrants had to board the narrow-gauge Casado railroad and travel 90 miles westward. From the terminal point of the railroad another 55 miles had to be traveled either by ox cart or on foot to the land which they had purchased. When they arrived, they found that the land had not been surveyed and no wells had been dug. For over a year they had to camp in tents or in other temporary shelters at Puerto Casado or at points along the way. While the group of 1,700 immigrants arrived late in December of 1926, the actual settlement could not be undertaken until late in 1927, and many of the settlers did not get on their own land until 1928, approximately 18 months after arrival.

Over 300 of the immigrants decided to return to Canada rather than endure the difficulties they were certain to face in attempting to settle in the Chaco. Approximately 1400 of the immigrants decided to cast their lot with the more courageous and stayed to blaze a trail of civilization in that barren wilderness.

They remained to prove that a foreign ethnic group could come to Paraguay and make a success of colonization in the most unpromising of all its millions of unsettled acres. Little did they realize what tremendous odds were against them or what

³Fretz, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-18.

See also Walter Quiring, "The Canadian Mennonite Migration into the Paraguayan Chaco in 1926 and 1927," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, VIII, January, 1934, pp. 32-42.

See also the diary of Johann P. Wall, a member of the first delegation to investigate South America. A microfilmed copy of this diary is in the Mennonite Historical Library at Bethel College, North Newton, Kan.

See also John Bender, "Paraguay, Portrait of a Nation," unpublished (Akron, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Central Committee).

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costly sacrifices would be required of them in order to make good their decision to stay. Their perseverance and demonstration of undaunted courage in the face of unbelievable hardships and bitter disappointments is, in the opinion of the writer, one of the greatest epics in the history of colonization. The accompanying table of demographic statistics tells an interesting story of colony growth and development.

This first and largest of the Chaco colonies shows a steady growth in population over the course of its first thirty years. Between 1928 and 1958 the population tripled. It will be noticed that while the population tripled, the number of families did not. This is an indication that the number of children per family is large. The average number of children per family is between six and seven. It is not uncommon for families to have ten to twelve children, and a few families have as many as sixteen and eighteen children. The high birth rates and low death rates result in a steady natural increase in population. There are very few increases or decreases due to migration in or out of the colony.

The colony's growth is evidenced, also, in the steady increase of land holdings and in the growing number of villages. Between 1933 and 1958 there has been an average of almost two new villages established each year. From the original twelve villages established at the start, the number has grown to 59 in 1958. The original land purchase of Menno consisted of about 139,000 acres. Through the years additional land was purchased, so that in 1958 the Colony owned 843,206 acres of land of which only 16,892 acres, or about two per cent of the total, were under cultivation. The remainder was not yet cleared or was in pasture-land.

The average Menno farmer in 1958 had 29 acres under cultivation. Of this acreage nine are devoted to cotton—the largest cash crop, seven to kaffir, and approximately four to peanuts. The remaining acres are used for a variety of smaller crops such as beans, mandioca, sweet potatoes, grass, and some sugar cane. The colonists have had to plant trees of various kinds and for various purposes. The native trees are seldom usable for lumber. In Menno in 1958, the total colony had 40,000 planted trees of all kinds. The average farmer had 34 paraiso or timber producing trees, 9 orange trees, and 25 other trees such as banana, tangerine, grapefruit, and dates. The average Menno farmer had a total of 69 planted trees.

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The accompanying table of agricultural data shows that the growth of the colony economically is keeping abreast with the population increase. Whereas the population has tripled since the colony's beginning, the number of horses has been multiplied thirty times, and the amount of livestock in 1958 was twelve times as numerous as it was in 1933. Chickens have increased significantly as an agricultural product but pigs and sheep have not. In the area of mechanization there has been noticeable growth and improvement. Although the size of farms is small as a rule, there is an average of a light and a heavy wagon per farm, three plows and three cultivators to every two farms, almost one planter per farm, and a harrow or a disc for one out of three farmers. All statistics shown are on the basis of five-year intervals.

Table No. 15

Menno Demographic Data (By five-year intervals)

	1928	1933	1938	1943	1948	1953	1958
Inhabitants	1361	1535	1851	2312	2940	3852	4457
Villages	12	17	23	37	48	53	59
Families	—	—	330	412	525	618	717
Marriages	17	15	14	15	16	19	40
Births	29	59	103	133	141	160	186
Deaths	81	45	23	15	45	23	16
Arrived	0	0	22	0	5	0	11
Left	128	—	—	—	26	20	62

Table No. 16

Menno Agricultural Data: 1933-1958

Acreages Planted (By five-year intervals)

	1933	1938	1943	1948	1953	1958
Cotton	550	2813	3125	3090	3500	5280
Kaffir		1213	1370	3125	4553	4122
Peanuts		328	300	500	773	2207
Beans		463	293	373	310	317

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Yield in Pounds

	1938	1943	1948	1953	1958
Cotton	1,150,600	2,858,754	2,274,360	1,583,667	3,423,589
Kaffir	2,028,400	1,870,000	990,000	2,200,000	1,870,000
Peanuts	286,000	180,000	101,200	440,000	935,000
Beans	264,814	121,000	66,000	33,000	56,100
<i>Trees</i>					
Citrus		3,090	3,817	5,230	8,480
Dates				956	2,112
Paraiso			965	1,287	1,499

Table No. 17

Menno Domestic Animal Census: 1933-1958 (By five-year intervals)

	1933	1938	1943	1948	1953	1958
Horses	118	508	735	1,550	2,647	3,627
Cattle	2,074	3,765	4,205	14,446	22,078	25,923
Pigs	1,060	200	700	850	1,145	1,552
Sheep	14	65	145	660	661	876
Chickens	6,700	14,000	15,200	17,000	29,824	42,270

By 1958, there was further evidence of modern mechanization in this isolated Chaco agricultural colony. A census revealed that there were the following modern implements or conveniences in the Menno colony: 16 trucks, 11 tractors, 4 jeeps, one bulldozer, 14 refrigerators, and 13 radios.

In addition to the individual economic farm units there are effective colony owned and operated activities of an institutional nature. The colony cooperative, employing 15 men, does practically all of the buying and selling of producer and consumer goods for the colonists. In addition, the colony industry, which employs an average of 25 people, operates a large modern cotton gin, a palo santo extracting plant, and a sawmill. A large colony owned cattle ranch is also operated.

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Table No. 18

Menno Farm Implements

(By five-year intervals)

	1933	1938	1943	1948	1953	1958
Farm Wagons	151	301	345	400	574	670
Buggies		51	95	295	417	573
Plows	198	385	415	540	907	1,096
Cultivators	169	340	380	510	865	1,096
Planters	36	120	152	250	346	439
Harrows	117	131	142	155	215	247
Discs		5	6	5	217	253
Threshing Machines	1	—	—	3	6	5
Tractors	0	0	0	0	3	12
Radios	0	0	0	0	0	18
Refrigerators	0	0	0	0	0	14
Jeeps and Trucks	0	0	0	0	0	8
Bicycles	0	0	0	0	0	257

A thirty-bed hospital with an American trained doctor and an American trained supervising nurse trains local girls for nursing service and looks after the health needs of the colony. Practically all of the colony children have access to one of the 42 colony elementary schools and a recently established academy and Bible school. Practically all of the adult colonists are members of the colony church. Menno is fortunate in having dedicated, intelligent, and capable leaders at the head of the church, the schools, and the colony government and economic affairs. There is good working cooperation between the leaders of these basic institutions.

FERNHEIM

This is the first of the four Mennonite colony groups to come directly from Europe to Paraguay. The early members of the Fernheim immigration group were among those fortunate enough to leave Russia with official permission during the latter 1920's. All of them had experienced the hardship and agony that accompanied the post World War I years—first the violence and bloodshed of the revolution, later the agonies of famine, and

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still later the terrors of expropriation and flight. When they escaped Russia, they had no destination other than to get out of Russia into Germany. In Germany they were temporarily housed in camps from several months up to several years.

Their co-religionists in the United States and Canada became interested in their welfare, as did the German government. Both made efforts to assist them in finding new places of settlement. The Mennonite Central Committee (hereafter referred to as the MCC), which is the cooperating service agency of all American Mennonites, undertook to give direct assistance. Because this agency had known of the settlement of the Menno colony in Paraguay a few years earlier, it occurred to members of the committee to investigate immigration possibilities to that country for the recent escapees from Russia as well. All of the Fernheim group would have preferred to migrate to Canada or to the United States where they had many co-religionists and blood relatives. This, however, was not possible; therefore, other countries had to be sought out.

After some study of the matter, on January 25, 1930, the MCC recommended that the Fernheim group settle in the Paraguayan Chaco. They knew that earlier Canadian Mennonites had migrated there, however, the MCC leaders did not know what terrible hardships and untold difficulties the Menno colony people encountered. A second and major reason why the MCC recommended Paraguay was because it guaranteed permanent and absolute religious freedom for the particular beliefs which Mennonites have always cherished. They were guaranteed exemption from military service, complete control of their own educational system, and a promise to take all refugees regardless of age or condition of health. Other attractions were cheap land and the challenge of a pioneering experience in a new country. The possibility of settling in a closed community and living their lives in peace according to the dictates of their own conscience was not the least of the attractions to these revolution weary former citizens of the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, the MCC study committee which recommended Paraguay had depended on secondhand reports for their information on conditions in Paraguay, and thus did not have the reliable counsel which personal investigation would

Immigrant Group Settlements in Paraguay

have yielded had time permitted. The early favorable reports seemed to have totally ignored the basic problem of lack of transportation and the difficulties of marketing products from the Chaco area where the MCC recommended settlement.

Purchase of approximately 40,000 acres of land was arranged at the unreasonably high price of \$8 an acre, \$3 an acre more than the Menno colonists paid several years before. The sellers later reduced the price to \$3 an acre when they found that these settlers were totally unable to pay the original price. Actually, the MCC bought the land from the Paraguayan Company and sold the land to the Paraguayan immigrants for \$.40 an acre. The Menno colony, which innocently paid \$5 an acre for its original purchase in 1927, fifteen years later bought a 115,000 acre tract for \$.15 per acre. This was the difference between wisdom gained with experience and innocent ignorance in the face of exploiting businessmen.

On April 26, 1930, the first Fernheim immigrants reached their land. The total settlement, however, took two years to complete. The land had not been surveyed prior to their coming, but this survey was undertaken within several weeks after they arrived, thus enabling them to settle their home sites in a relatively short time.

The original group in 1930 numbered about 1,500, but by 1933, as a result of additional immigrants and the excess of births over deaths, colony population reached almost 2,100. The original Fernheim group was divided into thirteen villages composed of 306 families.

The Fernheim colonists, in comparison with their neighbors in the Menno colony, were much more progressive at the time of settlement, probably due to the greater variety of contacts with the European urban-industrial culture. As a result, they found themselves severely frustrated in the isolated heart of the Chaco. There was great dissatisfaction during the early years of settlement with their seemingly hopeless economic and social situation in their isolated surroundings. This dissatisfaction manifested itself in the steady stream of immigrants who left the colony either for Asuncion or for the neighboring countries of Argentina and Brazil or possibly even for Canada and Germany.

For the most part, however, the Fernheim group settled down

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to determine its destiny in this seemingly desolate spot and lived to become one of three successful Chaco settlements, thus accomplishing something which had never before been done and which many people thought could never be done. Fernheim came to be the center of ingenious social and mechanical inventions which were required to compete successfully against the terrific odds encountered when transplanting an industrialized culture into the heart of an underdeveloped country. This colony set the pace for its neighboring colonies, Menno and later Neuland, in the area of economic organization. It likewise set up a model colony organization for a self-governing political system, a universal educational system, and a high grade health program with hospital and sanitation service for the isolated colonists.

It was at the capital city of Filadelfia, which has a population of over 800, that an airstrip was first developed so that the 29-passenger DC-3 planes could land. It was here that industry beyond elemental hand craft type was launched. It was here that the first high school beyond the elementary grades was established. It was in Fernheim, also, that a teachers' training school was founded to train teachers for the primary and secondary level for the Chaco schools. A Bible school for instruction of ministers and lay church workers was established soon, and has usefully served the colony. All of these organizational activities reflect the high degree of cultural aspirations in the largest immigrant colony in Paraguay at that time.

Reference to the economic, educational, and religious growth and development in general will be reflected in the statistical tables for this colony and in the interpretative data of Chapter VII.

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Table No. 19

Fernheim Demographic Data: 1933-1958

	(By five-year intervals)				
	1933	1938	1943	1948	1953
	1933	1938	1943	1948	1953
Inhabitants	2,078	1,330	1,717	2,222	2,486
Villages	18	19	19	21	21
Farms	369	221	217	261	264
Families	412	280	328	402	449
Marriages	26	13	14	25	16
Births	90	91	70	84	99
Deaths	31	10	5	18	6
Arrived	—	92	61	73	79
Left	76	50	8	73	150
Elem. Schools	13	13	15	19	19
Pupils	337	169	328	586	504
High School Students	45	29	31	81	134 (est.)
					104

Table No. 20

Fernheim Agricultural Data: 1933-1958

(By five-year intervals)

Acreages Planted

	1933	1938	1943	1948	1953	1958
Cotton	167.8	2,619.6	2,260.2	2,190.0	1,995	2,050
Kaffir	612.0	1,128.0	1,637.4	2,025.6	2,495	1,955
Peanuts	679.8	534.0	473.2	595.2	1,445	3,338
Beans	332.4	390.0	382.2	340.8	195	140

Yields in Pounds

Cotton	69,172	1,060,087	1,769,308	1,862,366	996,736	1,029,228
Kaffir	498,497	1,133,880	2,060,520	1,074,304	1,765,403	1,858,340
Peanuts	336,976	406,725	258,137	237,798	737,462	1,322,024
Beans	182,575	257,906	200,915	123,772	65,703	35,343

Trees

Oranges	297	1,548	3,111	2,973	3,583	4,276
Tangerines	162	452	1,395	1,486	1,524	1,648
Bananas	1,019	2,040	5,519	37	1,975	3,564
Grapevines	152	928	1,141	1,432	2,635	2,644
Paraíso	418	3,071	3,722	4,692	8,354	8,198

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Table No. 21

Fernheim Domestic Animal Census: 1933-1958

	(By five-year intervals)				
	1933	1938	1943	1948	1953
Horses	90	541	874	1,434	1,691
Cattle	1,871	2,770	5,177	11,362	9,218
Pigs	467	323	677	475	575
Chickens	8,246	6,262	8,514	10,402	13,903
				20,163	20,163

Table No. 22

Fernheim Farm Implements: 1933-1958

	(By five-year intervals)				
	1933	1938	1943	1948	1953
Farm Wagons	102	226	215	245	326
Buggies	—	22	97	197	259
Plows	337	230	282	296	459
Harrows	302	181	168	170	238
Cultivators	325	213	256	322	509
Planters	—	41	96	128	189
Tractors	0	0	0	0	5
Trucks	0	1	1	13	16
Radios	0	6	12	15	20
Refrigerators	0	0	0	0	2
					2
					17

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NEULAND

Members of the Neuland immigrant group escaped from Russia between 1941 and 1943. Many of them were forced to serve in the German army and others spent many months and even years in refugee camps. Many spent time in concentration camps either in Russia before they escaped or in Germany following the war.

As in the case of the other Mennonite colonists in Paraguay except those in Menno, Bergthal, and Sommerfeld, the Neuland colonists would have preferred to go to Canada or the United States or possibly to some other country rather than to Paraguay. But they could not enter Canada or the States and there were no other countries acceptable to Mennonites or open to immigrants. They looked to the Mennonite Central Committee for guidance, counsel, and assistance and since Paraguay had offered a haven to the earlier immigrants and was eager to welcome additional Mennonite agricultural colonists, the doors were still wide open in Paraguay. All of the privileges which had been guaranteed to the first settlers from Canada and extended to the later migrations from Russia were still promised to the Mennonite refugees of World War II. The international relief organizations were willing to help transport refugees from Europe to Latin America. The matter of having free transportation across the ocean was a considerable factor for the Mennonite immigrants. Plans were made, therefore, to help as many of the refugees as possible who had escaped from Russia and been temporarily maintained in Germany. The first contingent of 299 refugees destined for the Chaco arrived safely at Puerto Casado before the Paraguayan revolution interfered. About 1,200 refugees destined for Neuland were detained in Asuncion and housed for several months in temporary quarters there.

The Neuland colony was officially established on June 4, 1947. The arrangements had been made by MCC with the Fernheim colony to release 197,535 acres of its own land holdings for the new colony. The Menno colony center was located 55 miles in a southwesterly direction from the end of the Casado narrow-gauge railroad; the Fernheim colony capital, Filadelfia, was located 15 miles west of Menno; and the Neuland colony cen-

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ter, Neuhalbstadt, was 30 miles south of Filadelfia. One main service road was built between all of the colonies to provide a farm-to-market route. The three intercolony connecting roads to the colony centers formed a pie shaped triangle.

Of tremendous help to the Neuland immigrants were the international relief organizations, the MCC, and the Fernheim and Menno colonists. The latter took the new settlers into their own homes for periods of several weeks or months until the new refugees could erect their own houses, clear their land, and get started on their own. Before the arrival of the new refugees, the older colonists had agreed as far as possible that each established family would shelter and maintain one refugee family until their new home could be built. This was additionally significant because in the Neuland colony 253 out of the total 641 family units were without husbands. These men had been killed, captured, enslaved, or in some other way separated from their wives and families either in Russia during the agonies of the Soviet revolution or during the period of flight and the tragedies of World War II.

In addition to this generous hospitality, many of the old colonists provided transportation to the new colony homes and sent with them household goods and other gifts which enabled the Neulanders to get a more rapid start. The Don Carlos Casado Company, from whom the Fernheimers had originally bought their land, offered each of the immigrants one cow per family. These, however, were wild and untamed and often were difficult to use as draft animals. A team of oxen was provided for each farm family. By the end of 1948, the second year of settlement, the Neuland population numbered approximately 2,400. This was to be the largest group of immigrants ever to establish a colony in Paraguay. It is significant that each of the three Chaco Mennonite colonies had that distinction in turn, Menno in 1926 with almost 1,400 permanent settlers, Fernheim in 1930 with 1,500, and Neuland in 1947-48 with 2,400. All of these large colonies were made in what would appear to be Paraguay's most unpromising geographical, climatic, and economic area.

Neuland, as did all of Paraguay's newly formed colonies, had its share of disappointed settlers. The same factors that operated

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to attract the members of other colonies to Canada operated in Neuland. Between 1947 and 1958 a total of 255 families, consisting of 867 persons, left Neuland. Most of these emigrated to Canada. The population in Neuland at the end of 1958 was 1,715.

There was, however, a major difference between Neuland and Volendam. Neuland was fortunate in having an outstanding leader throughout its years in Paraguay. Peter Derksen, "the *oberschulze*" from the beginning, had the qualities of tireless energy and deep religious devotion, as well as the gift of inspiring confidence in his people, that enables him to secure support for the creative leadership he provides. Neuland as a colony has endured most of the hardships and disappointments of other Paraguayan colonies, but there is reason to think that the colony has as bright a future as any of the other successful colonies.

Table No. 23

Neuland Demographic Data: 1948-1958

(By five-year intervals)

	1948	1953	1958
Inhabitants	2,389	2,462	1,715
Villages	25	27	25
Farms	538	473	318
Families	645	622	411
Marriages	41	31	16
Births	35	110	78
Deaths	10	9	8
Arrived	1,603	—	40
Left	25	192	196
Elementary Schools	20	22	11
Pupils	426	318	169
High School Students	9	44	41

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Table No. 24

Neuland Agricultural Data: 1948-1958

(By five-year intervals)

	1948	1953	1958
<i>Acreage Planted</i>			
Cotton	388.8	2,433	2,425
Kaffir	312.0	2,633	2,150
Peanuts	180.0	1,313	895
<i>Yield in Pounds</i>			
Cotton	53,460.0	2,140,600	1,562,600
Kaffir	228,800.0	1,570,500	1,005,600
Peanuts	148,500.0	347,900	358,000
<i>Trees</i>			
Fruit trees	170	6,333	11,938
Paraiso	462	9,205	9,004

Table No. 25

Neuland Domestic Animals Census: 1948-1958

(By five-year intervals)

	1948	1953	1958
Horses	113	1,715	1,367
Cattle	588	7,437	8,841
Pigs	110	950	450
Chickens	1,527	11,361	13,028

Colonies in the Caaguazu Region

BERGTHAL AND SOMMERFELD

These two colonies will be treated simultaneously under one heading. Although they are separate colonies, the members making up the two groups came to Paraguay on the same ship and planned their immigration and colonization ventures co-operatively. Bergthal and Sommerfeld are the most recent of the seven Mennonite colonies to be established in Paraguay.

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Table No. 26

Neuland Farm Implements and Household Appliances:
1948-1958 (By five-year intervals)

	1948	1953	1958
Farm Wagons	45	420	291
Buggies	2	173	264
Plows	65	528	436
Harrows	1	41	101
Cultivators	24	469	393
Planters	—	142	261
Tractors	0	—	4
Trucks	0	—	5
Autos and Jeeps	0	—	2
Bicycles	0	6	144
Refrigerators	0	1	2
Radios	0	1	34

They constitute the most socially and religiously conservative element of the seven colonies.

In contrast with the colonies Fernheim, Neuland, Friesland, and Volendam, these colonists did not come to Paraguay as penniless refugees. Like the Menno colonists who came 20 years earlier, they deliberately chose to come to Paraguay. When the Menno colonists left Canada in 1926 and came to Paraguay in order to settle in a land where they felt their religious freedom would be unmolested, some of their co-religionists decided to remain in Canada. They did not at that time feel their religious freedom and way of life was threatened to the point of justifying migration. By 1948, however, they had come to the conclusion that their way of life was being threatened by encroaching secularism and so decided to migrate. Their several investigations resulted in a decision to move to Paraguay, but rather than settling in the Chaco, they decided to locate in eastern Paraguay where the rainfall was greater, the vegetation more abundant, and the climate more attractive.

The Berghthaler and Sommerfelder, like the Menno colonists, were among the prosperous Canadian prairie farmers who had

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sold their farms at peak post-war prices and therefore had substantial bank accounts. They were immigrants with capital in their possession and had an acquaintance with mechanized farming, as well as with aspects of scientific agriculture. These points are illustrated by the fact that the group chartered a special ship and paid \$350,000 in cash for its services. Thirteen tractors and a large bulldozer were among the first pieces of equipment brought along on the initial migratory trip.

The social solidarity of the groups is reflected in a specific policy that was followed by the colonists with regard to assistance to the poorer members. A fund to assist the poor was raised by taxing those with assets of up to \$5,000 at the rate of eight per cent and those with assets in excess of \$5,000 at the rate of ten per cent. This money was used to defray the transportation costs and to establish the indigent on farms of their own in the new colonies.

In 1946, a delegation from Canada was sent to Paraguay to explore settlement possibilities and was authorized to buy land if it felt so led. The three delegates purchased a tract of 108,640 acres at a price of approximately \$2 per acre. In 1948, the two groups combined, altogether numbering 1700 people, left their Canadian homes, and sailed for Paraguay. Out of the 1700 about 200 came from the province of Saskatchewan and the remaining 1500 from Manitoba. As was the case in the Menno colony, some of the new arrivals in Paraguay decided not to remain in Paraguay before they had actually become established on their own land. Approximately 500 of the 1700 making the trip decided to return to Canada. The usual discomforts of mass migration, the sadness of leaving home, the frightening shock that sweeps over those coming into contact with a new and vastly different culture, plus the numerous unexpected trials and tragedies of pioneering all helped to discourage the more fainthearted. There was the usual high death rate of children due to new diseases and illnesses with which the colonists did not know how to cope; there were heavy losses of cattle due to unknown diseases; new roads had to be built and forests cleared for both roads and farms. All these difficulties plus the decision of the 500 more financially able to return to Canada both discouraged those who planned to remain and greatly weakened them financially.

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A remark attributed to one of the returning colonists again illustrates the economic strength of some of the prospective immigrants. Upon arriving back in Canada, one of the discouraged farmers lamented that he was \$50,000 poorer than when he left.

Colony Sommerfeld is located approximately 180 miles directly east of Asuncion along the newly built highway stretching from Asuncion east to the Parana River and connecting with the Brazilian highway at the President Stroessner bridge which leads east to the city of Curitiba and the Atlantic Ocean. Bergthal lies approximately 10 to 15 miles farther east just a few miles off the Paraguayan-Brazilian highway. Bergthal was slightly the larger colony in the beginning, but as of 1958 the colonies each had populations of about 700. Economically these colonies are dependent for cash on the sale of wood and some vegetables and dairy, poultry, and pork products. Of the seven Mennonite colonies, these two are the only ones as yet with a good farm-to-market road. The farms are still quite small but are rapidly being enlarged to make way for a greater degree of mechanized farming. In 1958, Bergthal had 5 trucks and 12 tractors while Sommerfeld claimed to have 47 tractors, a bulldozer, 13 trucks, and a jeep.

The birth rate in these colonies is impressively high and the death rate low. If these rates continue, the population will naturally increase steadily. On the whole the colonists seem contented. Between 1950 and 1958, an average of 16 people have annually left Sommerfeld and 11 have left Bergthal. There have been practically no additions to either colony from outside.

There is every likelihood that both of these colonies will remain permanently in Paraguay and that they will gradually be strengthened economically. In matters of education, health facilities, social and cultural activities, and general views toward progress, these two colonies lag behind the rest of the Mennonite colonies in Paraguay.

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Table No. 27

Bergthal Demographic Data: 1950-1958

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
Inhabitants	574	623	635	643	630	657	654	671	700
Villages	7	7	8	8	8	8	8	9	9
Farms	110	108	111	114	117	128	132	134	136
Families	110	118	116	117	119	121	125	129	136
Marriages	6	6	3	2	10	1	6	9	6
Births	22	12	23	22	19	30	25	27	34
Deaths	4	3	5	—	3	2	2	2	5
Arrived	—	5	5	8	1	3	—	1	—
Left	—	—	11	9	9	1	27	7	—
Elem. Schools	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	6	6
Pupils in Elem. Schools	132	132	141	138	129	129	128	110	103

Table No. 28

Sommerfeld Demographic Data: 1948-1958

	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
Inhabitants	809	624	626	646	644	645	655	658	658	700	717
Villages	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	10
Marriages	1	4	8	1	6	10	6	7	8	9	6
Births	13	18	33	27	26	29	25	22	37	36	27
Deaths	22	12	3	7	2	2	3	3	5	2	5
Arrived	960	15	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Left	151	232	11	5	34	27	23	16	10	19	1
Schools	0	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	5	6	6

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Conclusion

As we conclude our discussion on the array of group settlement efforts in Paraguay, the question naturally arises as to what factors account for success on the part of some and failure on the part of others. The answers to this question are multiple and complex. The writer in connection with another research assignment attempted to speak to this question.⁴ He concluded that the following eight factors contributed significantly to colonization success: 1) geographic and economic conditions, 2) leadership, 3) planning and supervision, 4) industry and frugality, 5) mutual aid, 6) adequate financial credit, 7) governmental laws and concessions, and 8) religion. It is not our contention that any one of these factors is essential for success in any one colonization effort, but these eight factors, in varying combinations, seem to have had significance in the study referred to.

If the present study has modified the earlier conclusions in any way it is that favorable geographic and economic conditions in and of themselves are less important than previously thought. Of the more than 50 group settlements attempted in Paraguay, the three largest—and from several points of view the most successful—are the three Chaco colonies, Menno, Fernheim, and Neuland. Few people, experts on colonization not excepted, would have predicted that the isolated Chaco could provide even reasonably favorable geographic and economic conditions for colonization. This study reveals that while the geographic and economic conditions of the Chaco were extremely adverse, the sum total of other factors was strong enough to offset this one negative factor.

A second conclusion that this study has sharpened is the importance of the ethnic factor. One might make the generalization that the greater the number of cultural characteristics a group has in common the better its chances are of success. It is not common nationality or language or religion or occupational background or economic class alone that determines strength in an ethnic group but the presence of two or more of these factors within a single group seems to provide the necessary ingredients

⁴J. Winfield Fretz, *Mennonite Colonization, Lessons from the Past for the Future* (Akron, Pennsylvania: The Mennonite Central Committee, 1944).

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for successful colonization. Some of the successful colonies studied have had a common language and nationality but have had little or no religious identification and yet have developed successful colonies as is the case in the Japanese La Colmena and the German colonies Hohenau, Obligado, and Bella Vista. Some of the colonists brought a considerable amount of wealth with them while others came as penniless refugees to Paraguay. Yet, after a ten-year effort colonies like Bergthal and Sommerfeld representing the more wealthy immigrants do not seem to be noticeably advanced beyond colonies of refugees such as Neuland in the Chaco.

There was great variation as to the leadership abilities in the various group settlements of Paraguay. In many colonies the qualities of leadership seemed to spell the difference between the success or failure of a colonization effort. The capable leaders seem to have been able to discover and organize the resources within the group and to rally its support around a common cause. In this way a sense of corporate morale was developed and the capacity to withstand the hardships and disappointments of pioneering was created. Some of the colonies had a much clearer self-image and a stronger sense of destiny than others. It was those with the strongest self-image and the clarity of objectives that succeeded most frequently.

A final conclusion that the student of colonization in Paraguay cannot escape is that the most successful colonies were those most effectively organized. This seems like a truism and so it is. Organization here refers not only to the government of a particular colony but rather to the whole system of meeting colony needs. A colony is a web of inter-relationships. The recurring needs of the colonists are systematized and emerge into separate social organizations. These organizations then carry out the specialized functions of various segments of the colony. Organization reflects division of labor, cooperation, and interdependence of the members of a colony. It stands in sharp contrast to a loosely organized colony whose members behave in a highly individualistic manner.

The greater the organization of a particular society the greater the degree of social awareness and mutual responsibility. The presence of a hospital reflects a certain level of consciousness

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regarding values, norms, and practices in the area of health; the presence of a colony cooperative indicates a sense of social responsibility for the recurring economic needs of the component members; the presence of an educational system, from the lowest grades to the level of teacher training schools, reflects the group's responsibility for acquiring knowledge and transmitting the group's culture from generation to generation.

The chief distinguishing characteristic of the Mennonite group settlements is the prominence given to religion. This stands in sharp contrast to all of the other group settlements in Paraguay. Religion has an all-pervading effect on colony life. It acts as a cohesive agent. It draws members of a colony together and helps them unitedly to face common difficulties. While religion neither solves nor prevents all problems, it tends to reduce the severity of the problems that do arise. Religion adds a third dimension to human conflicts by lifting man's human problems into the light of the Divine. Paraguay's most successful group settlement efforts are those where modern man's basic social institutions have been most effectively developed. These institutions are: the family, religion, education, economics, and health.

6

A Colony As a Social System

THE CENTRAL CONCERN of sociology is social interaction. The sociologist is interested in the way people influence each other's behavior. The concept of "colony" has a peculiarly rich significance for the sociologist because relationships of colony members one with another are of a primary face to face nature. This is especially true of an ethnic group.

Whether we think of a colony as far removed in history as the ancient Jewish colony of exiles migrating from Palestine to Babylon, or of a colony of Pilgrims establishing themselves on the coasts of Massachusettes, or of a contemporary European ethnic group moving to Paraguay, the term "colony" implies a social intimacy between members composing it. There is something tribal or familistic about a colony which is not characteristic of unorganized settlements in newly populated areas or in society at large. The degree of intimacy between colony members varies greatly from colony to colony, but one can make the generalization that human relations are much more intimate between members of a colony than they are in society generally.

It is the contention of this writer that the success of a colony is directly related to the degree and effectiveness of its social organization. It will be the purpose of this chapter to marshal evidence in support of this thesis. Fernheim in the Chaco has been selected as one of Paraguay's most successful immigrant colonies. This colony is chosen above all others because there is more socio-economic data available about this colony than about any other in Paraguay. Fernheim colonists have also had a greater sense of group self-consciousness and an awareness of themselves as they historically emerged as a new social entity in a new country than would any of the other colonies. It is a matter of fact that most social groups failed to keep a detailed record of their group activities during its emergent period.

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When they become conscious of themselves as a group, their origins have oftentimes been lost and records of early experiences have become obscure.

We can best understand the nature and operation of a colony if we understand it as a social system. A colony is a concrete, cooperative, social structure. Like a family, a church, a school, or a community, a colony is a system. Members of any particular social group, including a colony, develop more or less standard behavior patterns over a period of time. Such patterns of behavior may be called group habits or customs. The layman may describe these established customs or group habits as "the way of life." The sociologist is inclined to see such collective behavior patterns not merely as a haphazard assortment of unrelated actions, but of composing a whole social system. A social system, therefore, may be thought of as an organization with fixed membership in which there is constant and repeated interaction. Members of a particular system interact more frequently with other members than they do with non-members. Groups of people living together in an intimate way over a period of time develop behavior patterns which can be easily recognized and clearly identified by both the members of a group and those outside the group.

The sociologist tries to look at the social order scientifically. He attempts to find basic elements within any social system that are universally recognizable. One such sociologist¹ has expounded his systemic theory of social organization which can be helpful in understanding a colony as a group settlement. He has maintained that all social systems are composed of essentially the same basic elements. By enumerating and describing these elements in each system, it is possible to more clearly understand any one system, and it is possible to make comparisons of two or more social systems.

In this chapter we shall enumerate the elements which Loomis suggests as being components of any social system in an effort to understand the Fernheim colony and how it operates as a system. If we would do the same for all the other colonies in Paraguay, we would then have a common basis of comparison

¹Charles Loomis, *Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change* (Princeton, Von Nostrand, 1960).

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and perhaps could see more clearly why some colonies fail to survive, why others survive in a weak and struggling condition, while others grow and become relatively successful socio-economic entities.

The following as elements of the Fernheim system are enumerated and will be discussed as they apply to the Fernheim colony.

1. *Knowledge and belief*: Knowledge among members as to why they are members of the group and what it stands for and belief in the meaning and importance of that knowledge.
2. *Sentiment or feeling*: Identification of members one with another and confidence in their leaders and respect for fellow members.
3. *Goals and objectives*: A relative sense of commitment to the goals and objectives of the group.
4. *Norms*: A large measure of conformity to the customs and laws of the group.
5. *Status-Role*: Achievement in the performance of the needed tasks in the group by a large majority of the leaders and their followers.
6. *Rank*: Establishing the social position of each individual in the group with relation to every other member according to a system of values.
7. *Power*: Acceptance of the power system whereby some are delegated with authority to rule and regulate the lives of others.
8. *Sanctions*: Agreement with the system of sanctions of awards and penalties used to motivate members and to control behavior.
9. *Facilities*: Development and use of such facilities as enable the group to carry out its objectives, such as adequate farming land, schools, churches, and hospitals.

Generally, neither leaders or followers in a colony are conscious of the component elements of the social systems of which they are a part. Actually these elements are only abstract concepts or ideals which are analytical tools used by the sociologist to better understand the structure and the process at work in a social system.

In order better to understand the structure and process of

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colonization, we shall apply this general theory of sociology to a specific colony. We shall examine a specific colony in Paraguay as an illustration of a social system. In this way we may provide a valid scientific basis for studying not only one colony, but many and comparing various group settlement and colonization efforts.

Fernheim Colony²

Thinking of this colony as a social system requires us to pay attention to its formative stages. While still in refugee camps, the members of the migrating group outlined in detail their plan of colony organization. It was largely decided in advance of migration which families would band together to constitute the membership of each village and who would be their village, church, and colony leaders. The original Fernheim settlement was composed of 1,500 inhabitants representing 306 family units. Each family was considered a farm family with an assigned 100 acres of land. Later, 400 additional colonists consisting of 106 families were added which increased the number of villages from thirteen to eighteen.

Upon arrival, the colonists decided to concentrate the administrative offices—the hospital, the cooperative store, industry, and other common activities—in a central location. A two- and one-half mile square site was chosen as the location of the colony capital. The study committee recommended that the proposed town plan be drawn in four concentric zones, each with a surveyed number of building lots of approximately one acre each. This long-range plan reflected something of the orderliness, the concern for the future, and the general forward-looking character of the Fernheimers. They called their central city Filadelfia. The name of the colony, Fernheim, literally translated means “home far-away.”

A summary of the sociological data as of 1958 indicates that the colony had 2,500 inhabitants, 30 villages, 463 families, 258

²See Chapter V for a brief historical sketch of Fernheim or, for an excellent report on the Fernheim colony see Walter Quiring, “The Colonization of the German Mennonites from Russia in the Paraguayan Chaco,” *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, April, 1934, pp. 52-72. See also J. W. Fretz, *Pilgrims in Paraguay*, op. cit., pp. 23-31.

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farms, 17 elementary schools, one high school, a two-year teacher training or normal school, a Bible school, a 42-bed capacity hospital, a pharmacy, a nurses' training school, three large church buildings, a library, a book and stationery store, a large central cooperative store and several branches, several colony industries such as a cotton gin and vegetable oil extracting plant, a palo santo extracting plant, plus a number of private industries and businesses.

It is significant that most of these craftsmen and business people earn their total livelihood at the activities in the following table. Most of them do not farm on the side.

Table No. 29

Private Industries in the Fernheim Colony: December 31, 1958

Private Stores	5
Carpenters	8
Blacksmiths	7
Shoemakers	4
Saddlers	1
Brick Factory	3
Tinsmith	3
Repair Shops	8
Watchmakers	2
Photographers	1
Tailors-Seamstresses	13
Hotels	1
Foundry	1
Baker	1
Shoe Factory	1
Total	59

Table No. 30

Fernheim Colony Employees by Activity: 1958

Administration and Staff.....	6
The Cooperative	21
Industry	25
The School System.....	28
The Hospital	26
Other	20
Total	126

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Of interest is the fact that women find vocational opportunities for gainful employment to the following extent and in the following occupations.

Table No. 31

Employment of Fernheim Colony Women

Nurses	14
Teachers	11
Tailor-Seamstresses	13
Maids	15
Cooks	7
Secretaries	2
Clerks	1
Home Industry	4
Laundress	—
Telephone operators	3
Day laborers	9
Librarians	2
Custodians	2
Total	83

Filadelfia is also the Chaco's air capital. It has an air field where until recently two weekly flights to and from Asuncion were made with 29-passenger DC-3 planes plus an average of one freight plane per week. The Trans-Chaco Highway, completed in October of 1961, is a part of the Pan American Highway system. The first completed unit extends from Asuncion to Filadelfia.

It is in the light of this development and against this economic and cultural background that social interaction within the colony may now be discussed. Ethnically the present 1,500 members of the colony are almost without exception of Dutch origin. The Low German dialect which everyone speaks informally is further evidence of this fact. Most people think of the Mennonites as ethnically German, however they are ethnically Dutch and culturally German. There are no Paraguayans living in Fernheim except for an occasional skilled worker, such as a baker who was temporarily brought to Filadelfia or the radio technician who came from Asuncion to op-

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crate the transmitter for the airline. Let us now focus attention on the social processes at work in Fernheim and see how this colony works as a social system.

The Elements of the Fernheim Social System

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF

One-third of the Fernheimers were born in Russia while in migration. The remaining two-thirds, born in Paraguay, are still conscious of their foreign origin. They chose to leave their Russian homeland because of the threat to values they held dear. They elected to settle in the wilderness of Paraguay in order to retain community solidarity. They preferred this to being scattered in countries with more advanced material culture. The Fernheim colonists are still quite conscious of why they exist as a social and religious group. Their attitude toward this "raison d'être" is by no means fatalistic. Again and again one hears colony members confidently say that God had a purpose in directing them to Paraguay. It is true that during the difficult pioneering years there were many who, like the children of Israel, murmured against their fate during the wilderness wanderings. Most of the church and colony leaders feel they have a divine purpose to perform. This belief tends to be strengthened as the colony becomes more firmly established culturally and economically and as the second generation increasingly looks to the future rather than to the past, as is the tendency with first generation immigrants.

The geographic and social isolation of the colony constantly emphasizes the self-consciousness of the group. It is approximately 15 miles from the closest Mennonite colony (Menno) and 25 miles from the third Chaco Mennonite settlement. The average colonist has comparatively little contact with Paraguayans. Even among eighty of the colony's leading citizens questioned on this point, one-third had no acquaintances among Paraguayans. Such contacts as are made are often of a secondary nature and come about as a result of Paraguayans working for colonists or through contacts at the colony store or hospital. This sense of separateness has from the beginning constantly re-enforced strict cultural boundary maintenance. Because it is a closed community, the group beliefs and values

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tend to be constantly re-enforced through customary practices even if not in formal teaching.

Sentiment and Feeling

There is a complex relationship between knowing and feeling in any human situation. Among the members of ethnic groups it is not uncommon to find strong feelings of loyalty to the group, and yet members may possess only limited knowledge about it. On the other hand, individuals may feel strongly about their group precisely because they are well informed about its aims and objectives. When this is the case, we generally refer to the group as having strong morale.

In Fernheim, one senses a slight feeling of superiority when colony members compare Fernheim with neighboring colonies. This attitude, if the observation is accurate, no doubt arises from the fact that for the past thirty years Fernheim was the most progressive of the colonies, and one may even say, probably the most economically and culturally advanced of all the agricultural settlements in Paraguay. From its beginning in 1930, it was a well organized colony. It became the model which Menno, its larger and older neighbor, used as a pattern in such areas as the organization of a cooperative, a colony school system, a health system, and a system of colony industry. It was always the first of the colonies ready to adopt new ideas and technological improvements such as a telephone system, the generating of electricity, the use of power machinery, and the acceptance of scientific knowledge through the establishing of an agricultural experiment station.

Such solid evidences of progressiveness and the subsequent experience of being imitated naturally contributed to the development of colony morale. In addition to these achievements was the recognition the colony received from important people outside the colony. Officials of the government, including the President of Paraguay and members of his cabinet, have occasionally visited the Chaco colonies. All visitors coming by air must land in Filadelfia, so naturally see Fernheim whether or not they visit Menno or Neuland. United States and other foreign personnel stationed in Paraguay or traveling in the country frequently visit the colony and marvel at the accomplish-

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ments of the industrious settlers in spite of their numerous handicaps. These, and other factors, account for the fact that the Fernheim colonists have developed a strong feeling of pride in their colony and its achievements. They account also for its determination to continue to push ahead.

In spite of Fernheimers' noticeable feelings of pride in and loyalty to their colony, there is nothing fanatic about such feelings. Nor do these feelings result in significant tensions between themselves and their neighboring colonies. In fact, there is excellent cooperation, understanding and mutual good will among the leaders and colony members in all three Chaco colonies. There has been a wholesome respect for the differences in conservatism and progressivism found in the several colonies. Each colony moves ahead as it sees fit and others may or may not follow. This has been true in religious and educational as well as economic and welfare matters. Inter-colony marriage is neither encouraged nor prohibited but permitted. In the first 30 years, there have been only seven marriages to non-Menonites; none of these seven were to Paraguayans.

Factors of great significance in the matter of developing and maintaining good feeling in Fernheim are the presence and effective use of the basic institutions of religion, education, and health. The churches constantly undergird the old and define the new basic group values. These are reinforced by the authority of the Scriptures and the traditional teachings of the Church. The hard working lay ministers who interpret the meaning of the sacred as aids to solving the problems of daily life are highly respected. The schools serve effectively in transmitting the customs of the group as well as the tools of learning from the older to the younger generations. There is universal education in the colony for all children up to the sixth grade. A high percentage attend an additional four years of secondary school. Since the schools and the churches work in close harmony, these two key institutions are able to do much to mold colony sentiment in support of those elements of knowledge and belief.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

Fernheim as a colony has both general and specific objectives.

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The general objectives are partly defined by the religious and social tradition out of which they emerge. As a religious colony, its goals are in part the goals of the Church. In terms of its sixteenth century origin, Mennonites sought to establish a church of voluntary believers in place of the compulsory Catholic or Evangelical pattern of the parish church. The Mennonites sought to separate control of the church from the political state. They considered the church a body of adult baptized believers rather than individuals baptized in infancy before the age of accountability. They taught that their primary citizenship was "in heaven" rather than on this earth and hence that their highest loyalty in case of conflict was to Christ rather than to the State or to human society. They emphasized the primacy of the true church as a community of believers who were to share the spiritual and material blessings and adversities of life. These are still the generalized goals of those Mennonites who seriously profess adherence to this religious heritage. There are, however, circumstances in Paraguay which require explanation of the deviation from some of these historic group objectives.

Fernheim colony is, in a sense, a miniature state as well as a religious colony. While it is located within the national boundaries of Paraguay and its citizens are subject to its laws, there is practically no contact by the average Fernheim citizens with the Paraguayan Government. The national government does not construct or maintain roads in the colony, has no police force stationed there, collects no taxes, and maintains no public health service or any other welfare service. Paraguay has no official government representative of any kind in the colony and no Mennonite colony has representation in the Paraguayan Government. Because of this fact, Fernheim is of necessity a miniature state in its own right. The colony is governed by its own rules or laws. It must devise ways of dealing with legal offenders and those who refuse to obey regulations voluntarily. Fortunately, there are relatively few who need more than moral coercion to assure behavior in conformity to colony standards.

In terms of the traditional religiously oriented goals, the "state within a state" situation causes certain modified views

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toward the generalized goals of the colony. Obviously the "church and state" functions cannot be easily separated within the colony. If the church is to be composed of an adult group of voluntary believers, what then happens to those within the colony who choose not to join the church? They cannot very well be disciplined by the church if they are not in it. The civilian branch of the colony must then deal with such non-church members. The Mennonite colony may seem to an outsider like a total religiously oriented and dominated body, actually it is composed of both church and non-church members. Colony goals, therefore, must be thought of as generalized ideals many of which do not lend themselves readily to liberal implementation.

In addition to the generalized goals and objectives are a number of specific colony goals. Industriousness is one such goal. All colonists are admonished to work hard, live frugally, and save a portion of the fruits of their labor for the future. It is the assumption of almost every young Fernheim couple that they will some day own their own farm and have it completely paid for. This is done most readily through hard work. Industriousness is the road to self-reliance, and every self-respecting Fernheimer wants to be completely dependent upon his own efforts and the fruits of his own labor. The emphasis on industriousness and self-reliance has frequently motivated colony members to develop ingenious new inventions and mechanical devices. These achievements have been looked upon with favor by other colony members and have been a means of increased social standing in the colony.

Conformity to conventional behavior or obedience to the colony norms is another specific goal of most colony members. Children from their earliest years in the home and later in the school and church are taught the importance of doing what is expected of them by way of acceptable behavior. The moral codes are strictly enforced and deviations from the code are strictly censored. The Mennonite child, therefore, grows up with a constant admonition to keep in mind that obedience to the mores and to the folkways of the colony is of greatest importance. Even in the areas of behavior which are of less importance, there tends to develop a great degree of conformity in behavior.

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Another specific goal of most colonists is that of social participation in the life of the community. Each colonist is encouraged to participate at least in the life of the church. While not all colony members are church members, they are all encouraged to become members. Likewise not all church members attend regularly, but a high percentage do. Those who participate most actively in the work of the church, not only by attending but also by holding responsible offices, tend to have the highest standing in the community. Those not participating in churches may nevertheless be active in the colony life or in youth activities in the local villages. Since most of the youth activity tends to emanate from the church and to revolve around it, very few colonists do not have contacts with the church sometime during their lives. Active social participation is not only a means of gaining social status in the colony, but also a means of recreation and a break in the routine of hard work in the house or the field. Failure to participate in some group activity tends to be looked down upon, although participation is not in any sense compulsory.

A goal commonly found in the Fernheim colony is the emphasis on excellence. In the home, emphasis is constantly laid on being a "good" person, a "good" worker, a "good" student in school, and a "good" craftsman. This is emphasized both because of the satisfaction that comes to the person who performs his work well and because it is a means of social recognition in the colony. The development of good habits among children in the home and in the school as well as the admonition from the church tends to develop good adult characters for community life. Colony goals, therefore, can be said to emanate from the church, the home, and the school, and to be supported by these three basic institutions. It is easily understood, therefore, how the colony as a whole is shaped and its character derived from the combined efforts of the colony's institutional system.

NORMS OR STANDARDS

The norms are the rules or the guiding principles which prescribe what is socially acceptable and unacceptable within the system. These norms play a major part in establishing behavior patterns within the system. There is a close relation-

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ship between norms and objectives. The norms may be written in the colony constitution, but more likely they are unwritten rules and regulations that have been developed by custom. The norms tend to be observed as part of the folkways and the mores of the group. Even though not written such norms are binding on the individual members of the colony. They constitute the yardstick of determining what is right or wrong, what is good or bad in any given situation.

Generally, the underlying factor which determines norms is what is related to the good and the bad over a long-term period, and what affects the welfare of the total group rather than the individual wishes of the members. Among the Fernheim colonists as well as among other Mennonite groups, norms of integrity, industriousness, self-reliance, and group welfare have a high value. The matter of conformity to these norms is also considered imperative on the individual members. In a sense, there is very little deviation between means and ends. Certainly, the norms must conform to the goals. There is no toleration for the ethics that claim that "the end justifies the means." Failure to observe the colony's norms will result in severe censoring or perhaps even expulsion from the system. This is especially true in the area of ethics and morals.

Interestingly, in the Mennonite colonies, where corporate survival in the early days was oftentimes in doubt, the norms included compulsory participation in the economic organization, or the colony cooperative. All members of the colony had to belong to the cooperative and had to buy and sell through the cooperative. This point is discussed in Chapter VIII of this book, but it suffices to say here that the high degree of conformity to this norm contributed in no small way to the success of the colony. This was a case where failure to conform economically was a threat to the welfare of the entire group. Deviation from the norm was considered just as severe a threat as if the deviation had been in the area of morality.

STATUS-ROLE

This element of the social system refers to that behavior which is expected of members of a given status. There is an inter-relationship between status and role. A member of a group plays a role according to the status in which he finds

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himself. This is illustrated in the case of a man who is the father and the head of the family in one instance and performs a job such as a teacher, a businessman or a doctor in another instance. His status is different within the family from what it is outside the family.

In the Fernheim colony, most family heads are farmers. Therefore, the variation between status and role is not as great as it might be in a highly stratified urban society. In this colony, also, the expected role of the husband is rather clearly defined. He is to be the head of the family, the chief source of authority, the family's bread winner, and the person responsible for the life, conduct, and reputation of the family members. The way he performs his expected role will determine his status within the colony. His status, in turn, will be a factor considered when it comes to selecting village, colony or church leaders.

Not only does the father in the colony have a clearly defined status-role, but so do the wives and mothers, the children at varying ages, the colony leaders such as the head of a village, and the school administrator, the schoolteachers, the ministers, and other community organization officers. In each case, the role that individuals are expected to play in the light of the status they hold is clearly defined. This contributes to colony stability. It prevents confusion of roles and makes for greater clarity of colony objectives. If people know what is expected of them, they can fulfill expectations more easily.

SOCIAL RANK

The term social rank refers to one's place in the group. It is a position which has been assigned by the group. It is something which the individual cannot determine for himself. His rank is likely determined by the way he performs his role in his particular group. Social rank is based upon a consensus of what is to be rated high and what low so far as relevance to the system of any particular colony is concerned. Social rank or standing refers to a particular system or social organization. One's rank in one organization would not carry over into another organization. Each organization or system determines its methods of ranking. Rank has no meaning apart from a particular system. The individual member of a crowd, for instance, cannot be said to enjoy rank. The minister or

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the teacher in one colony may be highly revered and esteemed in that colony by its members while outside this colony he may not be so esteemed. In fact, he may even be despised because his point of view or his group's ideals, philosophy, or behavior are at variance with the larger society.

The individual's personality, his morals, and his appearance may greatly affect the rank which is ascribed to him. In every social system human beings tend to have ideal types in mind for particular status-roles. Individuals who come closest to fulfilling all the characteristics of these ideal types may be ascribed higher social rank than those who fulfill them to a lesser degree. Individual members of a system with the same rank make up one strata in that system. These various strata are referred to as classes.

In Fernheim, the degree of social rank was much smaller at the beginning than it is today. There are signs of an emerging class consciousness as well as of a class system. This is in part a result of the growth of wealth on the part of a few and the consequent opportunities such individuals have for conspicuously displaying their wealth and enjoying the comforts and conveniences it can buy. This may be in the form of larger, more attractive, and more convenient homes; the purchase of an automobile, a radio, a refrigerator, or other modern conveniences which most of the colonists do not have. It may be additional education, education in a foreign country, and it may mean a particular position of prominence in the colony. Since relationships are predominantly of a primary group nature, in that individuals are well acquainted with each other, and since religious teaching both in the church and home constantly emphasizes the importance of cultivating the virtues of humility, modesty, and integrity, the emphasis on conscious social striving is naturally played down. A person's social rank in Fernheim is closely related to his contribution to the community and to the degree of conformity to group norms.

POWER

In every social system there are those with authority and influence, either by virtue of personal natural qualities or by virtue of office or ascribed power and influence. The meaning of power is the right to control the action of others and often

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it means the uncritical acceptance of that right by subordinates. Authority usually comes to a person as a result of formal action by other members of the group. A group decides through discussion or election to ask one of its individuals to serve in a representative capacity for the group. By this process, the group endows certain individuals with power to make decisions for it. In the colony of Fernheim as well as in societies generally, there is a close relationship between status-role and power. Individuals who have acquired or have had high positions of status ascribed to them also have a considerable measure of power. In Fernheim, as in societies in general, there are those who are referred to as "powers behind the scene." In such instances, persons may have a great deal of power and high social status and play a significant role in the life of the colony without necessarily holding formal office. They are people who exercise a great deal of influence in decision making due to the strength of their own personalities, their social position, family membership or perhaps achievement of goals considered worthy in the colony.

It is significant to note that in Fernheim, individuals holding power have been given that power by vote of the adult male members through discussion and election processes. The colony organization provides for regular meetings at which issues pertaining to colony welfare can be discussed. In such meetings officers are elected. Thus decision making is done by the larger group except when such authority is delegated to individuals. Nevertheless, if the individual has been given the power to make decisions, he must also account to the total group at stated intervals on the way he has used this power. Decision making and power are therefore widely diffused and the democratic processes are at work in the colony. Women do not have the right to vote, and property holding seems to be the basic premise on which a person exercises the right of franchise. Power in the Fernheim colony is thus widely distributed and periodically exercised by colony property holders. This stands in sharp contrast to the centralization of power and its autocratic use in the typical rural communities of Latin America where power is located in the hands of the large landowners. In such instances, the common people have virtually no power and no voice in decision making regarding political

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and economic affairs of their communities.

SANCTIONS

Sanctions are developed by societies in order to grant satisfaction or withhold it from group members. These sanctions are related to the objectives and the norms of the society. When the sanctions are positive, they are usually in the form of rewards bestowed upon members for satisfactory or outstanding behavior. Negative sanctions are generally expressed in the form of penalties that are attached to unbecoming or unacceptable behavior. The rewards and penalties for the most part are expressed in the form of favorable or unfavorable attitudes by members of the group.

The Fernheim negative sanctions are likely to be expressed in the form of avoidance, snobbery, carping criticism, or display of displeasure or even of anger. The more severe sanctions would be punishment in the form of a fine, compulsory work, and perhaps even exclusion from membership in the church or from the colony as a whole. The latter form of censure has seldom been employed, as those too far out of harmony with colony norms leave the colony voluntarily.

A reward for acceptable behavior may be a compliment, a verbal acknowledgment, a story in the local newspaper, *The Mennoblatt*. Sanction in a positive sense might be reflected in terms of a reward by election to a high office in the colony or as a teacher in Sunday school. The more intimate relationships are in a colony, the more formal the sanctions. Every well organized colony has a well defined system of sanctions. In Fernheim a highly prized goal is a good reputation. The ancient wisdom³ is taught and acted on by colony members desiring positive social approval.

FACILITIES

Facilities may be said to be the means at the disposal of the colony or system to attain its purpose.⁴ Facilities may include such matters as property, physical equipment, means of trans-

³Proverbs 22:1: "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches and loving favor rather than silver and gold."

⁴Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

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portation, industrial techniques, land, physical location, farming methods, household conveniences, and a great many other non-material factors such as skills, education, financial credit, and technological know-how which may enable members of a system to pursue more effectively their avowed objectives.

Fernheim as a colony has more facilities for obtaining its objectives than any other colony in Paraguay. These facilities are both material and non-material. In the realm of material facilities the colony has a host of mechanical devices ranging from office equipment, tractors, bulldozers, from implements to industrial equipment such as an oil press, a cotton gin, machine shops, and a foundry.

In the realm of the non-material facilities, Fernheim has a clearly defined social organization, a traditional, but well understood set of religious ideals, an educational system, and a health system. Not the least of the facilities of this colony is its membership in a world brotherhood through which it has enjoyed the practical benefits of mutual aid, financial credit and political and social intercession by fraternal members of the larger Mennonite fellowship throughout the world.

All of these facilities have contributed significantly to the successful development of this colony. It is not merely the possession or availability of the facilities but the use to which they have been put that distinguishes Fernheim from most other colonies in Paraguay and from many Paraguayan communities. This is illustrated in the contrasting way such factors as land and time are used. These two items are almost equally available to all residents in Paraguay. However, it is the knowledge, the beliefs, the traditions and skills of people that account for the varying uses to which these facilities are put.

TERRITORIALITY

Territoriality refers to special considerations. Whether families in a colony live close together or are far removed from each other poses a variety of problems. Also when a colony lives in close proximity to people of different background, they are confronted with different problems than when they live in comparative social and cultural isolation. The matter of territoriality has special significance to the study of colonization since one of the objectives of some colonies is to maintain a

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sense of isolation from other groups. This is reflected in the fact that some colonies are "closed" while others are "open." Certainly in such cases, there are clearly defined boundaries designed to regulate the degree of social interaction between members of a colony and those outside.

Fernheim is an example of a closed community. Not anyone who chooses may live in this colony. Those who live there do so as members of the colony or by its approval if not actual colony members. Control over the social behavior of all residents can therefore be effectively maintained. It is the way in which the social system of the Fernheim colony is preserved. These effective colony controls account for the success and survival of the colony through its early difficult struggles. The lack of boundary maintenance and internal social control seems to have contributed to the weakening or even disintegration of other colonial efforts in Paraguay.

Conclusion

All the elements of a social system are inter-related. In a sense, each of the elements of a system is an ideal concept nowhere completely and distinctly found as described. Yet, each of the elements is an aid in understanding a component part of the total social system operating in the Fernheim colony. Understanding the colony's structure should enable us better to understand the social processes in operation within the life of the colony.

Colonization is, of course, not an end in itself, but rather a means used to pursue a higher end. Most colonies have been formed for the purpose of attaining certain announced objectives, which was the case in Fernheim.

Interaction Between Paraguayans and Colonists

A primary purpose in undertaking this research was to observe the kinds and degrees of socio-cultural interaction which was taking place between the various European and Asiatic immigrant groups and the Paraguayans. The degree to which mutual accommodations are worked out by the immigrant groups and the Paraguayans determines in a large measure the success or failure of any immigrant colonization effort. It is, therefore, of interest to see how much material and non-material culture has been exchanged between immigrant groups and their national hosts.

The immigrants and the native Paraguayans approach this problem from opposite points of view. The typical Paraguayan tends to think immigrants ought to be absorbed quickly into the national cultural fabric of the country. Most Paraguayans would like to see immigrant groups give up their distinct socio-cultural character and merge with the main stream of society thus eliminating divergent patterns within the national culture. The continuing existence of foreign minority groups is looked upon by some Paraguayans as a kind of chronic irritant. The differences in culture are tolerated, but repeatedly one hears the opinion expressed that such groups ought to assimilate biologically and culturally much more rapidly than they do. Cultural differences seem not to be regarded as evidences of national strength, but somewhat more as a silent threat to national unity.

The immigrant groups seem to be highly appreciated because of the cultural contributions which they make. However, the Paraguayan patriots cannot see that these contributions would not be enhanced by more rapid total assimilation with the national culture. They would prefer to see many immigrants

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come to Paraguay and make whatever contribution they have to make by becoming an anonymous segment of the total national population and culture.

Early Attitudes Toward Interaction

The immigrant groups, especially such highly cohesive social organizations as the Mennonites, look at the matter of assimilation from a completely opposite point of view. They view their culture as their most precious possession and vigorously oppose its absorption into the national culture of Paraguay. It is precisely to preserve this Christian culture that they came to Paraguay. It is for this that they sought and were granted the famous "Privilegium." This official document guaranteed them freedom to teach their religion and language; maintain their own schools; and administer their own affairs without restriction.¹ Each group, they feel, should be allowed to develop its potentialities within the limits of its own culture. Assimilation, they contend, would mean a gradual weakening of their own potentialities and, therefore, would not contribute to the national welfare. Their political loyalty to Paraguay is not in question, and has not been throughout their stay in the country, with the exception of a single episode in connection with World War II.² The immigrant colonists, in contrast to the Paraguayans, feel that the conservation of their own cultural ideologies is a source of strength, rather than a source of weakness, to the country as a whole. To retain cultural identity as an ethnic group, they believe, is to retain cultural vitality and thus, something worthwhile to contribute to Paraguay.

From an ecological standpoint, Mennonite colonization on the whole has been unfavorable to social contact and cultural

¹J. W. Fretz, *Pilgrims in Paraguay*, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

²A group of colonists in the Fernheim colony came under the influence of the German Government's propaganda program for Germans in foreign lands. These colonists were impressed by the promises that in time they could all return to their homes in Russia or other lands that would be made available to them in the German Reich. These glowing promises were most attractive since they offered a welcome escape from the bitter hardships and sense of hopelessness that engulfed the Fernheim settlers in the isolated Chaco in the 1930's.

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interaction with Paraguayans. The first Mennonite settlements in Paraguay—Menno and Fernheim—were made in the Chaco interior. This prevented any social contact except with occasional Paraguayan ranchers living in that remote area. Cultural interaction was, therefore, held to a minimum. The establishment of Colony Friesland in eastern Paraguay in 1937, provided the first opportunity for a permanent Paraguayan-Mennonite cultural interaction situation. The establishment of Colony Volendam near Friesland in 1947 and of the two easternmost colonies—Bergthal and Sommerfeld—in 1948 increased the number of Mennonite groups living adjacent to Paraguayan people so that more intense contact with Paraguayan culture was subsequently both possible and necessary.

The Colony of the Society of Brothers known as Primavera was located close to Friesland in 1941. This offered additional opportunity for observation of cultural interaction between Paraguayans and an immigrant group. The Society of Brothers actually sought contacts with Paraguayans whereas the Frieslanders at first sought to maintain a clear line of separation.

Let us look more closely at the Friesland Colony and its surrounding Paraguayan neighbors to observe the type and degree of interaction and the cultural consequences that have ensued from it. It is important to remember that all these colonists originally established themselves as independent farmers. From the very beginning, each family was allotted a small acreage of land. Each man cleared as much of his land as possible and began to farm it. This was the pattern of the European peasant village in which his life and culture had developed. The Friesland colonists, although desperately poor when they moved from the Chaco to eastern Paraguay in 1937, had a sense of solidarity through their village system. The small farms were located close together, often alongside those of other family or close kinship members.

Having been in the Paraguayan Chaco between 1930 and 1937, naturally these immigrants had had little opportunity to become acquainted with Paraguayan life. The contrast in 1937 between their way of life and that of the Paraguayans naturally was very sharp. During the early years in the new colony, there was very little contact with Paraguayans except

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perhaps for strictly business dealings. The next two decades brought increasing social interaction.

Paraguayans have influenced Mennonites, and Mennonites have influenced Paraguayans. The obstacles to understanding and cooperation in the early years due to unfamiliarity of each group's language and customs have been slowly changing. That which was new and strange and mutually disturbing and perhaps oftentimes considered offensive by each group has now given way to toleration and understanding and frequently even appreciation to the point of acceptance. The social distance due to strangeness and consequent lack of conformity to each other has with increasing frequency given way to separation. The two cultures at first seemed so totally incompatible and the people themselves so alien to each other that frequently they offended each other. Now that both groups have come to see meaning and significance in each other's customs and ways of life, there is naturally a good deal more respect for each other as people, as well as for each individual's customs and values.

Evidences of Cultural Accommodation

Many illustrations of cultural accommodation can be cited. At first, all instruction in the colony schools was in the German language, but soon after the colonies were established, Spanish was introduced as one of the subjects to be taught in school. Later, several additional subjects such as Paraguayan history and geography were added to the curriculum of the secondary schools and taught in the Spanish language. Today the colonies would be willing to instruct even more subjects in Spanish, but they have few qualified Spanish speaking teachers. Teaching of Spanish is begun in the third grade for all colony children. In this way the entire colony will eventually be able to communicate in the Spanish language.

The Paraguayan Mennonite Teacher's Association has attempted for years to get its teacher's courses recognized by the Paraguayan Department of Education so that its teachers could earn a Paraguayan teacher's diploma. Many colony teachers have sought to get such recognition but during the early years were unable to satisfy Paraguayan education requirements. Each graduate of a Mennonite colony high school wanting to

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be accredited by the Paraguayan Government had to take examinations for each of the elementary and secondary grades. This meant that a young man or woman eighteen or nineteen years of age would have to pass examinations from the first to the tenth grades to have his colony education validated and recognized by the Paraguayan education system. Without such validation Mennonites could not enter the University of Asuncion. This even applied to older married men with up to sixteen years of teaching experience. As a result of these handicaps, continuous negotiations between the Friesland leaders and the Paraguayan Department of Education were carried on. Today a cooperative program has been worked out so that now ninety per cent of the Friesland educational program is recognized by the Paraguayan Government, and colony secondary school graduates may enter the tenth grade of the Paraguayan schools without first taking examinations. This is an illustration of intergroup accommodation. The government recognized colonists' educational system, and the colonists accommodated themselves to the government's educational standards.

In the Friesland high school, Paraguayan young women have been employed as teachers during three different years. This is further evidence of cultural accommodation in the area of education.

In the realm of material culture, one finds in the general Friesland area the widespread adoption by Paraguayans of four-wheeled wagons, the gradual development of better horses, and the adoption of more substantial plows, harrows, and the practice of cultivating larger acreages of land. Before the establishment of Friesland, Paraguayans in this area seldom bought modern farm implements even though the agricultural division of the government had such implements for sale. Today Paraguayan farmers tend to buy more farm machinery although still not as readily as the Mennonite farmers do. A generation ago, Paraguayans used only the big two-wheeled "carettas." On these they hauled everything from huge tree trunks to the saw mills and sick patients to the colony hospital. They were drawn by two, four or six oxen. Today one seldom sees these large carettas because they have been replaced by four-wheeled

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wagons and smaller buggies introduced by the Mennonites. Patients are now seldom brought to the hospital on horseback or on caretas but are brought on wagons. One Friesland colony leader estimated that in the neighborhood of 400 wagons had been made and sold to Paraguayans: an evidence of the effect of social interaction and the adoption of a European material cultural trait by the Paraguayans.

Formerly Paraguayans cultivated and cleared land and used it for two or three years, then abandoned it and cleared other virgin lands for cultivation. Now they tend to cultivate a given tract of land and nurture it as do the colonists rather than migrating so frequently to search out land that they feel has not been exhausted. In other words, by learning the crop rotation system, they are improving their methods of agriculture.

Practically all Friesland colonists have at sometime employed Paraguayans for the purpose of clearing land and cutting wood. There is general agreement that Paraguayans do this work more skillfully than do the colonists. It is customary to engage Paraguayan laborers on a contract basis. This is essentially an incentive system rather than a fixed hourly wage. Paraguayans seem to be happy to contract for the clearing of land for a fixed price per hectare. In this way, they are free to work at whatever time and speed they care to. When colonists employ Paraguayans, they generally provide meals for them, but the laborers do not eat with the colony families. Colony leaders feel that to do so would be to invite trouble for both Paraguayan and Mennonite families. Mennonites feel that there is considerable difference between themselves and the Paraguayans. Mennonites say they have learned through experience that they must not tempt Paraguayan laborers with material objects that can easily be carried away. To invite Paraguayan laborers into their homes for meals on the same social basis as they do their fellow colonists would be to invite serious social problems.³

³The author noted on several occasions that the colonists treat Paraguayan businessmen from Asuncion with much greater equality than they do the rural laborers working for them.

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Attitudes Toward Social Relationships

The above mentioned attitudes interestingly illustrate the superordinate-subordinate relationships that exist between colonists and Paraguayans. Rural Paraguayans in the Friesland area give every evidence of ascribing to colonists a status superior to themselves. Colonists, in turn, accept this ascribed status and, almost without exception, hold their culture superior to their Paraguayan neighbors. This seems to be true both individually and collectively. I did not find a single case of a Frieslander who felt himself inferior to Paraguayans. Nor did I find a single instance of a rural Paraguayan who seemed to challenge the superiority of the colonists.

The basis for these feelings seems to lie in both the material and nonmaterial culture traits. The adoption of Mennonite cultural traits and practices by Paraguayans at a more rapid rate than Mennonites adopt Paraguayan culture traits would lend evidence to the opinion that Paraguayans do consider the Mennonite culture to be superior. As just indicated, the Paraguayans have replaced such means of transportation as the caretta with the wagon, the ox with the horse, their nomadic agriculture with the more permanent systems of agriculture, and in many cases, the small lean-to type of adobe houses with the more spacious, permanent houses.

When Paraguayans visit colonists, they often express astonishment at the seeming luxury, spaciousness, and beauty of their homes. When told that each owner has built and decorated his own home, it is often difficult for the Paraguayan to believe. Actually, say the colonists, they have done nothing more than whitewashed walls and artistically stenciled different color designs. Their furniture is clean, sturdy, varnished or painted wood all made in the colony, and often by the men of the family. The colonists' houses have separate rooms for cooking, dining, sitting, and sleeping, which make their houses seem large and comfortable in comparison to the typical rural Paraguayan homes which generally consist of one or two rooms. Much of the Paraguayan's living and sleeping is done out of doors.

The writer was told by one of the colony businessmen in Friesland who has had much contact with Paraguayans, that

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Paraguayan women are eager to marry Mennonite men in the hope of thus bettering their own economic condition as well as that of their kin. Whenever such marriages occur, it is common for the relatives to "move in" on those who have improved themselves through marriage.

Another significant illustration of the extent of interaction between colonists and Paraguayans is the use of the colony hospital by Paraguayans. The hospital was erected by the colonists without any help whatsoever from the local Paraguayans or from the Paraguayan Government. In 1958, out of 945 hospital patients, 73 per cent were Paraguayans. Out of 4,244 calls at the colony doctor's office, 61 per cent were Paraguayans. The hospital administrator stated that approximately 70,000 guaranies or about \$600 in American money were written off in 1958 as charity to the Paraguayan patients who were unable to pay for medical care. In addition, there were a large number of bills outstanding which the hospital still hoped to collect.

An American-trained registered nurse, who was in charge of the hospital nursing service made the observation that the Paraguayan patients were a joy to take care of because they were so very appreciative. She also observed that Paraguayan nurses were somewhat hard to work with because they were reluctant to assume responsibility. In one particular hospital in Paraguay, supported by a large American evangelical denomination, the hospital supervisors were all Americans. It was the experience of this hospital that Paraguayan nurses were unwilling to assume responsibility for maintaining satisfactorily the high hospital standards required by the hospital administration.

While there is a good deal of social interaction between Paraguayans and the colonists, there are thus far only a few cases of intermarriage. In fact, over a twenty-five-year period there are no cases of colony approved intermarriage. In the neighboring colony of Primavera, one large Paraguayan family consisting of nine members became full members of the communal society. This means that over a twenty-year period, only this one Paraguayan family completely identified itself with an immigrant group like the Society of Brothers. Primavera is, of course, not typical of other immigrant groups because of the

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careful screening required of new candidates for membership and the high sense of commitment to the communal goals of the society. Nevertheless, the Society actively sought to attract Paraguayans but found only these few who responded to the invitation to the disciplined life.

On the whole, the social relations of the Frieslanders and the Paraguayans are cordial and the two groups get along well. The Paraguayans seem to respect the integrity of the colonists more than they do that of their fellow Paraguayans. The writer was told on several instances where Paraguayans wished to send money to Asuncion. In each case the money was sent with a colonist because the sender felt more confident that the money would arrive at its destination. This respect for the Frieslanders' integrity was also frequently mentioned in the interview with Paraguayan neighbors of Friesland.

An Attitude Survey

In order to examine the Paraguayan-Mennonite relations in one locality in Paraguay in some detail, a somewhat intensive investigation was carried on in two Paraguayan communities bordering the Friesland colony in eastern Paraguay.

The writer engaged a qualified Paraguayan, recommended by the American Cultural Center, to interview 54 representative Paraguayans living in the areas of Rosario and Itacuribi. These 54 Paraguayans represented the following occupations: 20 small business people, 18 farmers, 6 laborers, 3 housewives, 5 seamstresses, and 2 others. The Paraguayan interviewer was instructed to inform his hosts that he was working for a North American professor making a study of colonization in Paraguay. He was instructed to identify himself as one of a number of assistants asking questions of different groups in Paraguay. The interviewees were assured that their opinions would not be published or known except to the professor and that in no instance would local Mennonite people be able to identify the informants. The interviews were informal and casual but followed a schedule of questions so that all interviewees were asked identical questions.

Friesland is located 40 miles east of the Paraguay River port town of Rosario through which all colonists pass when going

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to or from Asuncion. Practially all agricultural products destined for Asuncion or foreign exports are hauled to Rosario and loaded on river boats. The town of Rosario and Estanislao are connected by a recently constructed good gravel road. Approximately 30 miles east of Rosario along this road is the town of Itacuribi which is the closest Paraguayan town to the Friesland colony. According to the 1950 census, Rosario, a political subdivision of the state of San Pedro, has a population of 8,593 people and Itacuribi a population of 6,673. In comparison to these two Paraguayan districts, the Friesland colony in 1950 had a population of 986. The contacts between the colonists and Paraguayans are more numerous in the Itacuribi area than in the Rosario vicinity because people from Itacuribi patronize the Friesland colony hospital and clinic, buy at the colony store, and many find employment among Friesland farmers. In Rosario the contacts are confined largely to colonists going to and from the river port on their way to Asuncion or when they haul freight to and from the port.

An effort was made to get a cross section of Paraguayans as a basis for the sample of opinions. Twenty-nine per cent were between 20 and 29 years of age; 54 per cent between 30 and 49 years of age; and 17 per cent over 50. Educationally, 80 per cent had from 1 to 6 years of schooling, 11 per cent from 7 to 8 years, and 9 per cent from 9 to 12 years.

In answer to the question as to the number of friends Paraguayans considered they had among Friesland colonists, 22 per cent said they had from 1 to 5; 24 per cent from 5 to 14; and 54 per cent said they had over 15 friends among the colonists. When asked how many of them had visited in Friesland homes, 74 per cent said they had visited, and 26 per cent said they had not. When the question was asked whether Friesland people had visited in their homes, 70 per cent said "yes" and 30 per cent said "no." When asked whether they would like additional Mennonite colonists to immigrate to their areas, 6 per cent said "no," while 94 per cent said they would like additional Mennonite colonists.

In an effort to discover social distance between these two groups, the Paraguayans were asked the following four questions: Should Mennonites be prohibited from living in Para-

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guay? Should Mennonites be permitted in Paraguay but not live in separate colonies? Should Mennonites be permitted in Paraguay but to live in separate colonies? Should Mennonites marry and permit marriage between themselves and Paraguayans? One hundred per cent of those interviewed indicated that Mennonites should be permitted in Paraguay. Fifty per cent said that Mennonites should live in separate colonies and 50 per cent thought they should not. Exactly 50 per cent also checked the fourth statement indicating that they favored Mennonite-Paraguayan intermarriage. This would indicate the almost unanimous acceptance of Mennonites as a foreign ethnic group by their Paraguayan neighbors and a strong desire for complete assimilation as reflected in a desire for intermarriage.

Paraguayans get acquainted with the colonists in four principal ways of almost equal importance. The largest number, 20 per cent, had most contact at the Friesland colony hospital; 23 per cent indicated that they had gotten acquainted through business dealings; 22 per cent said that they had worked for colonists; while another 22 per cent claimed they had most contact through the Friesland cooperative store.

The 54 Paraguayan interviewees were asked why Paraguayans liked or did not like to work for colonists. The answers revealed that the relations between the groups are cordial and that the colonists are highly esteemed by their Paraguayan neighbors. The most frequent answer reflecting Paraguayan attitudes toward their Mennonite employers was expressed in generalized attitudes. Fifty-two per cent of the interviewees describing the Mennonites used such words as "good," "kind," "honest," "dependable," "responsible," "friendly," and "unselfish people." Another 13 per cent said that Mennonites are "hard workers." Paraguayans seem to appreciate that Friesland farmers who hire them, work as hard or harder than they do. This demonstrated capacity to work evokes admiration and makes psychological identification easier than if the Friesland farmers held themselves aloof from them or from farm work. This kind of heavy manual work for the employer class is unusual in Paraguay. Other reasons given in the order of frequency were that Mennonites were "successful," that the "Paraguayans learned things from them," that "they have good ideas," and

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that "they always help when needed," which could be interpreted as meaning that they provide jobs and pay the Paraguayans in advance if they are hard up for money. They were also credited with being "skillful," "educated," and one enthusiastically declared that "Mennonites were better than Paraguayans in every sense."

The most frequent negative comment made (13 per cent) was that Paraguayans were given no opportunity to work for Mennonites. One can only guess at the reasons. Perhaps those who did not have a good reputation as workers would be less likely to be hired and hence feel critical toward Mennonites. Other critical comments by individuals were "they sell products too high," "they are too abrupt," "Paraguayans do not benefit from them," "they are a little selfish." Presumably, the latter means that their social isolation makes them too self-sufficient. Negative comments constituted less than ten per cent of those interviewed.

The Paraguayans were asked to comment, if they cared to, what they felt was good or bad about the colonists. The answers on the positive side again reflected a high regard for Mennonites. Thirty-one per cent, or one out of every three, liked their virtues; they said they were "good," "honest," "kind," etc. Another 31 per cent appreciated their industriousness. Ten per cent expressed satisfaction with their progressiveness and their contribution to the progress of Paraguay. One admired their skillfulness, and one the fact that they think for the future. Only two out of the 67 comments made were unfavorable. These two thought the Friesland Mennonites were "too selfish." The selected list of typical expressions from the questionnaires will illustrate the predominance of positive attitudes.

Positive Expressions

They are good and hard workers.

They are serious and take responsibility.

They know how to work.

They have good ideas on how to improve things.

I'd say they are honest and responsible.

They can be trusted.

I'd say they are good and very kind.

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They are hospitable.

They fulfill their promises.

They have been shown prejudice, but keep quiet about it.

You learn something by working for them.

Thanks to them I am earning my living.

I hope to work with the same enthusiasm.

They pay well what is deserved.

They give us jobs and food.

Negative Expressions

After they have made money, they go to Canada.

They are hard workers, but they are abrupt.

They work only for themselves.

They don't help others.

They don't want to pay their debt.

Some people say they are good; other people say the opposite.

They are liars.

The several negative comments made by individuals represent a small minority. Such attitudes are offset by an overwhelmingly large percentage of positive expressions. We can only conclude that the social interaction of these two cultural groups reflects or expresses positively a high degree of accommodation or practically no element of conflict. Mennonites as an immigrant group, therefore an invading group, are looked up to and highly regarded. A repeated criticism, namely that of selfishness, seems best interpreted as self-centeredness due to social isolation rather than selfishness in the sense of greed or absence of generosity.

As indicated in the survey and in personal conversations, the Paraguayans think that Mennonites should intermarry with them. The failure to intermarry or to permit intermarriage, of course, reflects Mennonite attitudes toward Paraguayans. A few general comments indicate that Paraguayans look to the Mennonites for leadership. They wish that Mennonites would provide additional jobs and hope that they will develop new industries so as to provide additional work opportunities. They are grateful for what the Mennonites have taught them by way of new and useful skills, as well as for producing additional food stuffs in abundance so that Paraguayans are not in want. Let us now look at the Mennonite attitude toward Paraguayans.

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Mennonite Attitude Toward Paraguayans

In the research undertaken in this project, an effort was made to survey the opinion of leaders in every one of the Mennonite colonies. A questionnaire was constructed and given to leaders in each of the seven colonies. A total of 186 interviews were recorded and used in this survey. "Leaders" were defined as the teachers, preachers, village mayors, nurses, and a representative number of farmers. Age-wise, about half of the sample was selected from those in the 20-29 group, and about half in the 30-50 group. A small percentage was taken from those over fifty. In an effort to find out Mennonite attitudes toward Paraguayans and the Paraguayan culture, a number of frank questions were asked.

The responses to these questionnaires were significantly different from colony to colony; the attitudes depending on the distances Mennonites lived from their Paraguayan neighbors and the amount of social contact they had with each other.

A higher percentage of colony leaders in Friesland can speak Spanish than in any of the other colonies. In fact, every one of the 21 leaders interviewed in Friesland considered himself capable of speaking Spanish. This is in contrast to 43 per cent average of the colony leaders in the five colonies in which the sample was taken. In response to the question as to whether leaders wanted to learn to speak Spanish, it was already assumed in Friesland that they could, therefore, none of them particularly wanted to. Whereas in the other colonies from 10 to 25 per cent of the leaders wished they could speak Spanish.

In asking how many Paraguayan friends the colonists had, the Friesland colony, which is closest to Paraguayans geographically, had more than 90 per cent of its leaders with more than 15 Paraguayan friends each. Whereas in the other colonies, the next closest percentage was about 15 per cent having more than fifteen friends each. In fact, in the Chaco colonies about a third of the leaders claimed they had no personal friends among the Paraguayans. In the Friesland colony, 81 per cent of the colony leaders interviewed had had Paraguayans working for them. In other words, four out of five Friesland colony leaders had had Paraguayan workers. When asked about the satisfac-

Interaction Between Paraguayans and Colonists

toriness of the workers, 70 per cent of the leaders in Friesland indicated that the workers were satisfactory.

One hundred per cent of the Friesland colony leaders had had Paraguayans in their own homes, and in turn 100 per cent had been in Paraguayan homes. These contacts in homes were for the most part business or social calls of a casual nature, not intensive visits based on intimate friendships; nevertheless, they indicate the degree of social distance between them and the effect physical proximity of residence has to social interaction. Interestingly, in the Friesland colony, 100 per cent of the Mennonite leaders thought that Paraguayans looked up to them whereas only 79 per cent of the leaders in the other colonies felt this way.

In response to the question as to whether Paraguayan children should be admitted into Mennonite colony schools, 19 out of 21 or 90 per cent of the Friesland colony leaders felt that Paraguayan children should be admitted. In the Chaco colonies, by contrast, 67 per cent of their leaders were opposed to admitting Paraguayan children into their schools. They feel segregation of Paraguayan and Mennonites in the colony schools is necessary to prevent ultimate intermarriage. With different religious beliefs and social standards, the colonists feel that physical integration would not result in harmonious relations.

Seventy-three per cent of all Mennonite colony leaders favored additional immigrants coming to Paraguay. One hundred per cent of the Friesland colony leaders wished for more immigrants. It is understandable that colonists would want additional immigrants to come from the regions where they themselves originated and from cultures similar to their own. Thirty-one per cent expressed a preference for additional refugees from Germany, 28 per cent from Europe, 16 per cent from Russia, 9 per cent from Canada, and 5 per cent from Japan. Five per cent expressed a preference for additional Mennonites regardless of the country of origin, and two per cent expressed a desire for additional immigrants from Holland. There were those who were not in favor of encouraging additional immigrants to come to Paraguay. They evidently were so disappointed that they did not wish anyone similar unhappiness.

As to where and how Mennonite colonists and Paraguayans get acquainted, the survey showed there was no single place

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or way. In Friesland, by far the largest percentage became acquainted by having Paraguayans work for them. Eighty per cent of Friesland colony leaders learned to know Paraguayans best by employing them. The cooperative store in each colony provided some sources of contact, as did business dealings. In contrast to the source of Paraguayan knowledge about Menonites, the colonists do not get acquainted with large numbers of Paraguayans through the colony hospitals.

By way of summary, we may observe that there is a super-subordination relationship between Friesland colonists and Paraguayans, but this does not seem to be a point of serious conflict or resentment. There seems to be mutual agreement that this should be so since both agree which should be superordinate and which should be subordinate. The degree of social and cultural interaction depends upon the opportunities of contact existing in a given area. The original social wall of isolation which sealed off the first colonists from the Paraguayans is developing wide cracks at many places. This does not mean that there is complete social equality, free interaction, or total assimilation, but there are evidences of increasing cultural interaction and adoption of each other's culture traits and complexes. Spanish words and expressions are being adopted into the vocabulary of the colonists. Likewise Paraguayans are appropriating German expressions from the Frieslanders. As indicated earlier, the Paraguayans and the colonists have adopted various practices and accepted numerous material traits from each other. Paraguayans have taught the Friesland farmers lessons about cattle raising, the technique of land clearing, and methods of building houses that are suitable to the Paraguayan climate.

Many of the colonists at first built houses on the same architectural design they had in the colder climates of Russia—small window frames, glass panes in all their windows, and tight fitting doors and windows. In contrast, Paraguayan homes are oftentimes much more loosely constructed. Provision is made for a great deal of cross ventilation by having either no windows or large, low windows and extended roofs supported by posts without walled enclosures. Much more of the Paraguayan family's time is spent outside the house than inside. This is in contrast to the colonists who live much more indoors.

Interaction Between Paraguayans and Colonists

The indirect evidences show that there is a continuous subtle pressure for increased interaction and greater acquaintance with the culture and the people of the two respective groups. The colonists are interested in learning the Spanish language and knowing more about the culture of Paraguay. They are beginning to read Spanish papers and other literature. As radios increase in the colonies, they naturally listen to programs broadcast in Spanish, with exception of those who have short wave radio sets and are able to get foreign broadcasts. The more education people have, the more need is felt for cultural and social interaction, and one might add, the less fear there is of each other.

In view of the strong feeling of patriotism on the part of Paraguayans and their desire to cultivate cultural homogeneity on the one hand, and resistance on the part of Mennonites to becoming assimilated into the national culture on the other, it is truly remarkable how little conflict there has been over the years since the coming of the first Mennonites to Eastern Paraguay. This is a tribute to the faithfulness of the Paraguayan Government in adhering to its guarantee of the religious and social privileges which were promised the Mennonites as a condition of their coming to Paraguay. It is also a tribute to the reconciliatory character of the Mennonites; they have not been overly aggressive and have tried not to offend Paraguayans by their behavior and conduct.

The fact that Mennonites were the first to successfully establish a permanent settlement in the Paraguayan Chaco has greatly enhanced the reputation of the Mennonites throughout Paraguay. The establishment of not just one, but three, successful Chaco colonies where no other permanent white settlements had previously been made and where it was generally felt human beings could barely exist deeply impressed the Paraguayan people. Mennonite colonies have become the object of curiosity as well as of admiration and a source of national pride. The Friesland colony which emerged from one of the Chaco colonies has benefited from this national reputation. Comparatively few Paraguayans have actually visited Mennonite colonies because of their geographical inaccessibility, but they have frequently been described in news articles and journals.

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Distinguished visitors to Paraguay are frequently flown to the Chaco for a visit to one or more of the colonies.

The well-laid out colony central towns, the attractive villages, the neatly kept homes surrounded by shade trees, orchards, and vegetable gardens, and the paths lined with flowers all give the impression that the Chaco colonies are socially progressive and economically prosperous. By comparison with rural Paraguayan standards, they are progressive and prosperous but not because of being located on unusually fertile land or in favorable marketing areas. The appearance of prosperity is due to the colonists' love of beauty and adherence to orderliness. Whatever actual prosperity the Friesland colonists enjoy in excess of their Paraguayan neighbors is chiefly due to their commitment to incessant hard work and the use of such ingenuity and creativeness as they happen to possess. Until the middle fifties Friesland had very little outside financial assistance.

One frequently hears Paraguayans express the opinion that their country needs more immigrants who will intermarry with Paraguayans. They say that the Paraguayans need "new blood." There is, however, no reason to believe that biological mixture of nationalities would necessarily contribute to cultural and social advancement. The country may need immigrants from an advanced cultural background to set examples and provide stimuli for cultural improvement, but intermarriage is neither essential or necessarily desirable, as a means of raising the social, economic, and cultural standards of Paraguay. Biological intermarriage may or may not be advantageous to the nation, but there is no basis for assuming that there is something inherently superior biologically in one nationality group and inferior in another.

The more social interaction there is between Mennonite colonists and Paraguayans, the less likelihood of covetousness and misunderstanding. At least this is a conclusion one might draw from eastern Paraguay where Paraguayan neighbors can see that Friesland's success is largely the result of frugality and hard work. As the colonists of the second and third generation become more adjusted to Paraguayan language, customs and culture, and as improved means of transportation, communication, and education are developed, these two cultures will naturally grow toward greater external uniformity.

8

The Impact of Immigrants on Paraguay

THE ANSWER TO the question of what impact immigration and land settlements have made on Paraguay is significant both in terms of the past and the future. If the impact has been positive, additional immigration will likely be encouraged; if not, it will be discouraged.

The total amount of immigration to Paraguay when compared to Brazil and Argentina, has been relatively small. The official government figures show slightly over 48,000 immigrants over a forty-year period, which would mean an approximate average of 1,200 immigrants per year. Undoubtedly, many additional immigrants entered the country without bothering to register. The number of unrecorded immigrants was probably offset, however, by the large number of disappointed emigrants who left the country either legally or illegally. Even this seemingly small number of immigrants made a cultural, social, and economic contribution to Paraguay out of all proportion to its ratio of the total population.

One of the major ingredients that immigrant groups generally introduce into a national culture is the element of newness or change in the area of ideas, customs, and material culture. Since Paraguay is naturally isolated by virtue of its political boundaries, and because it has a four-century history of commercial isolation, its people have had very little contact with foreigners. The coming of immigrant groups, therefore, caused them to be a conspicuous part of the Paraguayan population. At the time of the arrival of the large group of Mennonites from Canada in 1926, the President of Paraguay came out to greet them as did cheering crowds of citizens.

Almost all immigrants to Paraguay began life as agricultural settlers in more or less isolated areas. A high percentage of the early settlers failed as agricultural colonists and drifted to Asuncion or even left the country. Thus their impact in the

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early days was only of minor significance. The contributions of the early colonists showed up chiefly in the second and third generations among those who remained in Paraguay, intermarried and entered the political, military, or commercial life of the country.

Unfortunately, the historical and statistical data pertaining to most of the early immigrant agricultural settlements is scanty. Available written information is scarce. To accumulate the information that would be helpful in better understanding the settlement experiences of the immigrants, much additional data on settlements made prior to 1930 needs to be gathered. This is exceedingly difficult because those making the settlements are today scattered, while those among the original settlers still available for interviews are seldom able to give the investigator little but hazy recollections and generalities.

Data about Mennonite colonies is frequently cited to illustrate the impact immigrants have had on the national life and economy of Paraguay because sociological data about them is available in great detail. It is doubtful if any other colonization group in history has so complete a statistical record of its collective life as do the Mennonite colonists in Paraguay. Organization is the key word to the understanding of these colonists. They have a very careful system of record keeping which results in a complete inventory of population characteristics, livestock, farm implements, and agricultural production. As illustrated earlier in chapter five of this book, there is an annual colony census taken as a part of the official duty of the colony secretary on the number of inhabitants, families, births, and deaths by sex; the number of arrivals and departures; the number of children in elementary and secondary schools; the number of hospital patients, doctors' visits, operations, and the names of those being served. In addition, there is a careful annual agricultural census in most of the Mennonite colonies. This provides valuable statistical data with which to determine economic development and trends over the years. The census includes the total amount of livestock by farms, villages, and colonies; also the number and kinds of farm implements, the kind of cash and domestically consumed agricultural crops produced and the yields of these crops by farms, villages, and col-

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onies. In addition, one finds records of such valuable information as the number of acres of land cleared, the number of wells dug and data on long-time weather conditions.

The larger and relatively successful German colonies, such as San Bernardino, Hohenau, Obligado, Bella Vista, and Independencia, have no statistical records comparable in completeness to the Mennonite colonies. Therefore, it was not possible to study and estimate the impact on the national economy of these groups with the same degree of accuracy as has been possible in the Mennonite colonies. The Japanese colonization efforts in Paraguay reflect a new wave of immigration where a limited amount of sociological data is available. However, because three of the four settlements have been made only within the past decade, no long-term implications can yet be seen and obviously achievements cannot be as well measured. Even though some of the colonies have few statistics about their economic life, they undoubtedly will make a significant contribution to the economic, social, and cultural life of Paraguay.

Contributions of the Colonists

1. SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS

The first and most significant contribution of immigrant colonists is the colonists themselves. The immigration of 48,000 individuals to Paraguay from Europe, Japan, and Canada is a most significant commodity import. Over 6,000 of these twentieth-century pilgrims settled in the interior of the Gran Chaco where they opened for the country territory hitherto unsettled by agriculturalists. Here, despite the emigration of several thousand discouraged among their number, they have continued to grow to a present population of over 8,000. Immigrant groups are scattered over Paraguay from Hohenau in the southeast, Pedro Juan Cabellero in the northeast and the Chaco colonies in the northwest, with many others in between.

These scattered colonists became small human transplantings—population seed beds which opened the country economically. This is significant for Paraguay which has been handicapped by its population being centered predominantly around Asuncion. Despite the heavy losses of immigrant population of all types, there still remained a significant number to make a con-

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tribution to Paraguay. There is not a single known group of immigrants that did not suffer the loss of substantial numbers who left either colony or country or both. As an example, an estimated 7700 Mennonites left Paraguay between 1926 and 1958. Today there are 12,000 left. Had there been no emigration, the population of this one group alone would today be double what it is. Up to the present time Mennonites are the largest single ethnic group in Paraguay. If the present scheme of Japanese immigration is carried to completion it will be the largest immigrant colonization group.¹

2. DEVELOPMENT OF UNTILLED LAND

A major contribution of agricultural colonists is their settlement on and development of previously uncleared and untilled land in rural areas of Paraguay. Up to 1958, the three Mennonite colonies in the Chaco alone had bought approximately one and one-half million acres and brought 35,000 acres of this under cultivation. The conversion of the vast acreages devoted to cattle grazing to intensive cultivation on family-sized farms is impressive. The vast stretches of scrub forests and grassland, where once only uncivilized Indians and herds of cattle roamed, are now the private property and the homesteads of some 1600 farm families. Thousands of hitherto unproductive acres are now devoted to the production of cotton, kaffir, peanuts, beans, corn, sweet potatoes, mandioca, sugar cane, and a great variety of fruits. In eastern Paraguay, likewise, natural resources have been developed and fertile soil has been converted to food and fiber production purposes.

3. INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION

Another significant contribution of immigrant colonists to

¹The Japanese and Paraguayan Governments had a contractual arrangement whereby up to 150,000 Japanese immigrants would be admitted to Paraguay at the rate of 15,000 per year for a ten-year period. These admissions were to be permitted in exchange for certain benefits from the Japanese Government. One of them was a number of ocean-going vessels which were to be added to the Paraguayan merchant marine. After approximately 4,000 Japanese colonists entered Paraguay, immigration halted because of a breakdown in the fulfillment of the obligations on the part of one of the contracting parties. Whether negotiations can be carried on to effectively overcome the present difficulties is not known.

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Paraguay is that of food production. The Paraguayan farmers' per acre food production rate is distressingly low when compared to what can be produced on a given acre. When immigrant colonists who had been used to greater intensity of agriculture and therefore greater yields per acre, came to Paraguay and introduced modern methods of food production, this naturally decreased the amount of food that needed to be imported. It raised the standard of living in that more Paraguayans could have more to eat at a lower cost. Not only did the immigrants produce food native to Paraguay, but they brought with them many new crops and improved methods of producing them.

In 1958, the agriculture statistics for five colonies from which data is available indicate the following production volume:

Table No. 32

Agricultural Production in Five Mennonite Colonies 1958

Cotton	6,000,000	pounds
Kaffir	6,000,000	pounds
Peanuts	3,000,000	pounds
Sweet Potatoes	2,000,000	pounds
Mandioca	2,000,000	pounds
Sugar Cane	1,500,000	pounds
Rice	400,000	pounds
Fruit Trees	100,000	
Head of Cattle	56,000	
Chickens	88,000	
Horses	8,888	head
Swine	3,000	head

4. INTRODUCTION OF TECHNICAL SKILLS

Immigrants have brought to Paraguay a wide variety of technical skills which were learned in other countries. These imported skills have resulted in many ingenious inventions which have made possible greater productivity in field, shop, and factory. The skills have enabled the immigrants to practice progressive methods of agriculture and move from the primitive

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handcraft industries to simple machine production. The skills pertain especially to mechanics, elemental engineering, and handcrafts. Such skills have contributed to the development of basic processing industries and to their simple mechanization.

5. CREATORS OF CAPITAL

All of the successful immigrant group settlements in Paraguay have been creators of capital. Most colonists came from highly industrialized countries and have been ardent capitalists. They demonstrated the art of creating capital from raw materials and labor and contributing to the capitalistic system. Although it may seem paradoxical, capitalism among the Mennonite colonists was practiced first through a cooperative system. Each colonist owned his own property but all producer and consumer goods were bought and sold through the colony cooperative. This cooperative technique resulted in great economies. Indirect contributions by colony members to the colony welfare were inevitable. Since the colony cooperative stores carried only necessities, even those who might have wanted to spend their hard earned money for nonessentials could not do so.

Most of the immigrant colonists to Paraguay came there penniless. They brought very little material wealth with them. Such wealth as they had was invisible. It consisted of their technical skills, their varied homeland experiences in industrial societies, their advanced education, and for some, their deep religious faith.

Colonists illustrate in a simple, yet graphic, way the emergence of a capitalistic system. In Paraguay they found land in its raw state; they applied labor to the land to produce food for themselves and their livestock. Once they had sufficient for themselves, they began to sell their surpluses. The surplus of food and grain was converted into cash or credit. This in turn was used to buy additional land, or capital goods such as livestock, machinery, farm implements, and better buildings. Some used it to hire labor with which to develop the land and thus produce more value. In this way capital wealth over the years, accumulated and continues to accumulate, contributing to the national wealth of Paraguay.

In some cases, immigrant colonists brought considerable amounts of capital with them. This is illustrated in the case

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of the Bergthal and Sommerfelder colonists of eastern Paraguay. They sold their prosperous and valuable Canadian farms, and with the proceeds had sufficient funds to pay for their land as well as machinery to clear and cultivate the land. Bergthal and Sommerfeld, established in 1948, have a much higher mechanization rate in a shorter period of time than do any of the other Paraguay colonies. This was possible because they possessed the necessary capital and credit and because they were experienced as mechanized farmers. In colony Sommerfeld, for instance, in 1958, with less than 800 people, there were 47 tractors whereas in the three Chaco colonies with a population of 8,000, there are only 24 tractors.

Of very great and outstanding significance for Paraguay then is the introduction of a philosophy and practice of capitalism which has demonstrated again and again the means of creating wealth by applying human labor to natural resources. This has great economic and social significance for the people of Paraguay. It demonstrates convincingly how immigrant groups develop latent resources to a country's advantage. The basic differences between the Paraguayans and the immigrants were their technical knowledge and skills; their experience, and their desire to develop the available resources which the country afforded. Although they have a different heritage, Paraguayans may in the course of time develop these same resources and acquire surplus capital and wealth by the same techniques as the various immigrant groups have used.

6. STORERS OF WEALTH

Colonists have made a sixth contribution by demonstrating yet another capitalistic characteristic; namely, that of becoming storers of wealth. By means of their industriousness, frugality, and self-denial, they postponed present consumption in order to possess and enjoy potential consumption in the future. Many have demonstrated voluntary self-denial and frugality in a culture where this aspect of capitalism is not easily practiced. The effectiveness of capitalism depends in a large degree on stored wealth. If all economic goods were consumed as rapidly as produced, there would be nothing left by way of wealth to create more wealth, nor would there be reserves for times of want. Through intensely hard work, colonists have demonstrated both

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the capacity to produce surpluses and to withhold their immediate consumption in order to enjoy greater wealth in the future.

It is at this point that the European and Japanese immigrant colonists' life, economy, and industry stands in sharp contrast to the typical Paraguayan's philosophy and practice. The Paraguayan is typically Latin in that he desires to enjoy the fruits of his labors as soon as he acquires them. He is not committed to the philosophy of self-denial nor does he enjoy the practice of accumulating for years and then modestly and sparingly enjoying the fruits of his past labors. Much less does he hold to the philosophy of a lifetime of self-denial and effort towards material accumulation in order to transmit to his posterity the fruits of his labors. A Jesuit priest distinguished interestingly between North and South American philosophies of work when he said: "For the North American, life is for work, with the work occasionally interrupted with leisure, so that the future work be more efficient" . . . to the South American, "Life is for leisure, interrupted occasionally with work so that leisure itself is possible."² The Europeans and the Asiatic immigrant, like the North American, glorify work and the fruits of work. They operate strongly on the philosophy of working hard and saving for tomorrow's "rainy day."

7. ATTRACTING OUTSIDE CAPITAL

A contribution which some of the colonists have made to Paraguay is the attraction of outside capital to the country. This is perhaps more true of the Mennonite colonists than any other. This outside aid has come in the first instance from donated dollars from co-religionists in the United States and Canada. The Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), a worldwide service agency of all Mennonites, has estimated that its members contributed in the neighborhood of \$2,000,000 over a period of about 30 years. Most of this amount was contributed for such purposes as the initial purchase of land, food, provisions, and household equipment during the first years of settlement. Used farm implements were also donated. Money was

²Gustave Weigel, "A Theologian Looks at Latin America." *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 20. The University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, Oct. 1958, p. 421.

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contributed for such facilities as church buildings, hospitals, schools, and elemental equipment to operate them.

Many of the immigrants to Paraguay had relatives in North America who were economically able to send either regular or periodic contributions varying in amounts from \$10 to \$100 at a time. From the standpoint of both the colony and the Paraguayan economy these dollar gifts represented national income and increased purchasing power just as surely as if Paraguayan products had been exported and dollars acquired from their sale. The MCC annual dollar expenditure for operating its service program in Paraguay annually runs into thousands of dollars. In addition to MCC expenditures, are the contributions of North American church groups, which would not have initiated programs and incurred such expenses had it not been for the colonists. These contributed dollars, paid for labor, food and for manufactured goods.

After World War II, a large number of the post-war immigrants who had German citizenship or whose relatives had lost life and property in Germany due to war tragedies became eligible for pensions from the German Government. Thus annually several thousand German Reichsmarks came into the colonies to provide support for widows, orphans, and incapacitated former German citizens and war victims. These Reichsmarks added also to the currency in circulation and to the purchasing power of the German colonists. These pensions have in numerous instances amounted to larger monthly or annual incomes than did the incomes from the sale of agricultural products. Without the immigrants, of course, Paraguay as a country would not have attracted these foreign dollars.

Another major source of income for the national economy due to the colonists is the investment of foreign capital from private and public sources. An estimated quarter million dollars has been invested privately in the various colonies as loan capital. This has been used for various purposes such as the purchase of land or the establishment of new industries or businesses. Sometimes such funds are provided by church bodies, sometimes by individuals, and other times by private incorporated economic organizations. One such private organization is the Mennonite Development Associates (MEDA). This organization is made up of North American Mennonite businessmen

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who up to 1962 had invested approximately \$80,000 in various business and industrial enterprises in Paraguay. MEDA forms business partnerships with the colonists and furnishes the needed capital, technical knowledge, and supervision. The colony partners provide labor and whatever technical skills they may possess. Ventures thus far initiated include model dairy farms in two different colonies, a tannery, a shoe factory, a foundry, a rice growing project, and a soft-drink bottling works. Other businesses and industries are planned as needs and opportunities dictate. Without the colonies in Paraguay, of course, this capital would not have been attracted to the country nor these industries established.

An additional significant source of outside capital is that which has been made available by the United States Government to Paraguay for the purpose of economically developing agricultural colonies. In the nineteen fifties a one million dollar government loan for the economic strengthening of five Mennonite colonies through agriculture and industry was made. The size and purpose of the loan as well as the low interest rate and thirty years' time in which to repay, made this huge loan advantageous. It gave both colony and country a major economic push ahead.

It is clear that this loan contributed toward the mechani-

Table No. 33

Partial Use of Million Dollar Loan Made by the United States Government to Five Mennonite Colonies

Fencing	\$ 54,000
Diesel tractors and parts	128,000
Threshing machines and parts	21,000
Discs and harrows	16,000
Industrial refrigeration equipment	11,000
Diesel industrial motors	10,000
Dairy equipment	16,000
Farm implements	18,000
Transport trucks	4,600
Importation costs	69,000
	<hr/>
	\$347,600

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zation of agriculture in the colonies and hence, toward improved food and fiber production, as well as to strengthening the processing industries. The colony leaders budgeted the million dollars to be spent over a three-year period in approximately equal amounts. Table 33 indicates how the first portion of the million dollars was spent.

If the above totals are multiplied by three, one may begin to appreciate the full significance a loan of this size can have on the economic development of the various colonies and indirectly on the economy of Paraguay.

The alertness of the Mennonite Central Committee leaders in the United States in making known the possibility of this loan to the colonists and in helping to process it is a testimony to the meaning of brotherhood. Had it not been for the great concern on the part of North American Mennonites about the future of their co-religionists in Paraguay, it is unlikely that such significant assistance would ever have become a reality for those in Paraguay. This, therefore, illustrates the direct benefits to the immigrant colonists of having concerned co-religionists outside Paraguay, and it illustrates the benefits that come to the nation of Paraguay as a result of having colonists that attract such large scale economic assistance.

8. EMPLOYMENT FOR PARAGUAYANS

Another genuine contribution which the colonists have made to the economy of the country is that of providing jobs for native Paraguayans. A majority of colonists have employed Paraguayans or Indians in connection with land clearing and other agricultural work. It is estimated that no less than 600 Mennonite farmers employ one or more Paraguayans some time during the course of the year. This represents about one out of every four farmers. Often an individual farmer will employ from two to ten or twelve Paraguayans for the purpose of clearing a particular tract of land. One could, therefore, estimate that Mennonite colonists provide from a thousand to fifteen hundred jobs a year for Paraguayans.

It was observed among the eastern Paraguay German colonies of Hohenau and Obligado that all the workers in the tung and yerba factories were Paraguayans. Thus one may

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conclude that group settlements in general have stimulated the development of agricultural and manufacturing industries which have, in turn, provided jobs for native Paraguayans. In addition, the Chaco colonists provide the chief source of livelihood for approximately 4,000 Indians. Some 500 Indian converts to Christianity have been settled in the Chaco on small farms of their own. Prior to the coming of the Mennonite settlers in the Chaco, the Indians existed almost totally on hunting and fishing. Settled colonists thus serve as a Christianizing as well as a civilizing force to native populations.

9. INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Yet another way in which colonists have contributed to the national economy of Paraguay is by means of their industrial and commercial developments. In eastern Paraguay in addition to agricultural produce, there has been a steady production of timber and wood products. From the Chaco come such commodities as cotton, palo santo extract, peanuts, and peanut oil. Also in more recent years, tanned leather for harness and shoes as well as the manufacture of shoes in the Fernheim colony has contributed to exportable commodities. In all three Chaco colonies, modern creameries are in operation. The butter and cheese manufactured are sold both in the colonies and in the Asuncion market.

The Chaco colonies are in an isolated geographical location, but this bottleneck has been overcome in part by the development of air freight lines. For a period of about ten years until the completion of the Trans-Chaco Highway one or two large freight planes provided quick transportation to a ready market for the highly perishable dairy products that could profitably be conveyed to Asuncion. In recent years, the Chaco colonists have exported cotton by loading it directly on foreign ships in the Asuncion harbor. The Friesland colony in eastern Paraguay has exported corn and timber to Argentina. The Hohenau-Obligado Cooperative supplies mate for much of Paraguay and exports it along with tung oil. This has meant cash income for the colonies and additional national income for the country. As technical skill increases and additional capital becomes available, either through savings or loans, it can be anticipated that

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additional manufacturing will be undertaken and new trades established.

10. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION ROUTES

An indirect contribution of colonists to a country's economy is the development of transportation routes. In all colonies, roads have been built by the colonists for intercolony travel. The three Chaco colonies have built and continue to maintain their own farm-to-market road system. Since the erection in the early fifties of a landing field at Philadelphia, in the Fernheim colony, two DC3 passenger planes per week and one or two weekly freight planes provided direct flow of passenger and freight service to and from the Chaco and Asuncion.

Paraguay, with the help and encouragement of the United States Point Four technicians, has developed a national plan of road building.³ One of these, a road from Asuncion east to the Brazilian border, is already constructed and in use. This road runs between the two eastern Mennonite colonies, Bergthal and Sommerfeld, and is used heavily by these colonists to transport lumber and agricultural products.

Perhaps the outstanding illustration of the way in which colonists have contributed to the development of transportation routes is the case of the Trans-Chaco Highway which was completed in October of 1961. This upgraded gravel road was built from the west side of the Paraguay River fifteen miles north of Asuncion in a northwesterly direction as far as Philadelphia for a distance of approximately 250 miles. Ultimately it is to extend beyond Philadelphia to the Bolivian border. It is considered a part of the Pan American Highway. When constructed, this will give rise to additional commerce and trade between the Chaco and the Bolivian oil fields and between the Chaco settlers and Asuncion. On the day the Trans-Chaco road was completed, regularly scheduled buses began carrying passengers and a number of freight trucks began hauling produce and consumer goods. The air freight and passenger service dropped severely. Travel costs were cut in half and freight rates dropped 75 to 80 per cent.

Without the 8,000 colonists in the heart of the Chaco, this

³See Chapter 1.

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new trade route would certainly not yet have been developed. Again the alliance of the Paraguayan Mennonites with their co-religionists in North America was a factor in stimulating the idea of a trans Chaco road as well as persevering to bring the resources and the proper individuals and governments together to make such a venture possible. The construction of the Trans-Chaco road was a cooperative venture between the United States and Paraguayan Governments, the Chaco Ranchers' Association, and the Mennonite Central Committee of North America, which acted as agent for the 8,000 Chaco colonists. The United States Government agreed to supply technicians and machinery; the Paraguayan Government agreed to provide some machinery and man power. The Chaco Ranchers' Association supplied the tractor fuel, and the Mennonites supplied technical equipment operators to train Paraguayans both to operate and maintain machinery and roads. It is on this basis that the United States Government made most of the funds available for construction of the Trans-Chaco Highway. This road will do much to increase trade with the colonies and develop the Chaco in general. It will undoubtedly contribute to the speed with which the Chaco colonies will be able to mechanize their agriculture and rapidly expand their industry.

The newly constructed gravel surfaced roads from Concepcion to Pedro Juan Caballero and from Rosario to Estanislao in eastern Paraguay were influenced by the presence of such colonies as CAFE, Friesland, and Primavera. The numerous colonies with their agricultural surpluses and their demand for consumer goods thus stimulated the need for construction of good transportation routes.

11. MODEL COLONIES

A final contribution that will be mentioned as of significance to Paraguayans is a non-material and a rather inclusive contribution. Although not established for this purpose, some of the immigrant colonies became models of successful group settlement. Such colonies are living demonstrations of what can be done by immigrant settlement groups. The best illustrations are the three Chaco colonies—Menno, Fernheim, and Neu-land. The Mennonites can, without exaggeration, be called

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the largest and most successful of Paraguay's numerous colonization efforts. They can be cited as models not only for Paraguay, but for all of Latin America. They have been successful by almost any standard by which success is measured.

For the most part, the colonists came as poor immigrants. They had to struggle against great adversities, but they triumphed over these difficulties and are today established as permanent colonies. They have been models in terms of their effective organization and economic productiveness and have developed a comparatively high living standard for themselves as well as contributed to a rising level of living for rural Paraguayans and Indians.

In the field of education, they have erected excellent school systems including provision for a teacher training program and an efficient system of administration and financing. There is practically no illiteracy among Mennonites in any of the colonies. There is a difference in the educational standards of the various colonies, but in all cases formal elementary education is required of all children. What is more, this education is provided by the colonists without expense to the Paraguayan Government. Erection of schoolrooms, teachers, payment of salaries, buying of textbooks, and all the other expenses pertaining to the operation of the educational system, are borne by the colonists. This system has never cost the Government of Paraguay a penny.

In addition to the elementary schools in all of the colonies, five of the colonies have high schools. In the Fernheim colony, there is a normal school for the training of teachers. Other colonies send their prospective teachers to Fernheim for preparation. Several of the colonies also maintain Bible schools which provide opportunities for increased learning beyond the elementary school for those who do not necessarily want to teach but wish to continue their education beyond the elementary or secondary grades. These Bible schools compare in some ways to the academies in common use in America in early days prior to the establishment of free public schools. In all the colonies every child has access to an elementary school. In five of the larger Mennonite colonies, about 15 per cent attend high school. Unfortunately nowhere, outside of Asuncion, do colony children have opportunity to receive formal training

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in vocational schools.

Closely identified with the educational program is the model health plan in operation in all of the colonies. Each of the colonies has good medical care and protection. Six of the colonies have hospitals and one, a medical clinic, and five colonies have resident physicians who are highly trained and competent to supply first-class medical care. A number of the colonies have highly trained nurses as hospital supervisors, and several of them have nurses' training programs. This level of professional service is not found in any other part of Paraguay, including the capital city of Asuncion. It has often been observed that those living in the areas of rural Mennonite colonies, even in the remotest areas of Paraguay, have excellent health care.

In connection with the hospitals and clinics are pharmacies where many of the latest and most important drugs are available for the poorest of the patients. In essence, the colonies have socialized medicine since services are provided and paid for publicly. In all colonies medical services are available also to native Paraguayans and Indians. This is helping the Paraguayans to raise their health standards as well as contributing to the eradication and control of numerous diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, and hookworm.

The accompanying table reveals the extent to which the health facilities of the seven colonies provide medical care for colonists and those outside the colonies who live within reach of the hospitals. In Friesland, almost two-thirds of the patients cared for are Paraguayans. In Volendam and Fernheim, about one in three patients are non-Mennonites. The building and maintaining of these hospitals is of no expense to the Paraguayan Government. The social security payments of the government for its citizens, however, are significant for the hospitals and doctors since they provide needed income. In many cases, they are the difference between donated and paid services since the patients are too poor to pay for medical care out of their own resources.

Table No. 34

Mennonite Colony Hospital Statistics: 1958

Colonies	Year Organized	Bed Capacity	Office Calls	Days of Hospital Care	Operations	Percentage of Patients Non-Mennonite
Fernheim	1932	42	1,813	5,566	95	30*
Menno	1947	30	3,500	—	220	10**
Neuland	1948	40	3,769	66,657	49	22***
Volendam	1949	30	3,136	3,597	114	31
Friesland	1949	28	4,244	—	—	61
Bergthal	1955	6	325	1,126	10****	1
Sommerfeld	1959	8	—	—	—	5
Totals		184	16,787	15,946	488	—

* 15 per cent Indian; 15 per cent Paraguayan

** 5 per cent Indian; 5 per cent Paraguayan

*** 12 per cent Indian; 10 per cent Paraguayan

**** Represents minor surgery only

— Indicates no information available

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In the realm of political and social organization, the Mennonites are self-governing. So effective is their government that they need no assistance, supervision, or control by Paraguayan Government officials. Seldom do government officials either on the national or the local level visit Mennonite colonies except on stated occasions for purely formal reasons. The colonists have an enviable record as law-abiding citizens. Since the first Mennonite colony was established in 1926, there have been few misdemeanors and very few felonies.

The villages are all uniformly organized. Each village has a head man called a "Schulze," who represents his village in colony meetings. The colony as a whole has a council, usually consisting of five to seven men. The chairman is called the "Oberschultze," which is the equivalent of the colony president or governor. He is elected by all the male family heads at periodic elections for a specific number of years. Within this representative government, all the needs of the colony seem to be worked out reasonably well.

Law violators are promptly and firmly handled by the colonists themselves. In the whole history of the Mennonites' residence in Paraguay, there have been only one or two cases turned over to the Paraguayan law enforcement officials for disposition. No Paraguayan policemen ever patrol village streets to maintain order. No government tax collectors ever frequent colonists' homes to collect taxes. This does not mean that there are no difficulties or that there are no violators. However, such as there are, are taken care of in their own organization, by the church if violators are members and by the colony administration if they are non-church members. It is interesting and significant to note that in the seven Mennonite colonies with a total of almost 12,000 people, there is not a single jail. There is no use for one.

The effective and efficient organization of the Mennonite colonies has been generally satisfactory to the Paraguayan Government because of the above mentioned reasons. Official Government business can be transacted through the duly elected heads in each colony.

In all societies the family is the most basic of all social groups. Among Paraguayan Mennonites, the stability of the family is

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impressive to the student of sociology. Even the Paraguayan neighbors to the Mennonites commented to the writer about the difference in family structures between the two groups. The long history of cultural differences and traditional environmental influences accounts in a large way for these contrasts. Among the 2300 Mennonite families in Paraguay only a few divorces have occurred over a thirty-five-year period. Husbands and wives are mutually supporting partnerships and in almost all cases remain faithful to each other, although this does not necessarily mean mutual happiness.

Cooperatives

One of the most important organizations in any Mennonite colony is the cooperative. In the mind of this writer, the cooperative has been the key to economic success and the absence of a cooperative has been a direct threat to colony failure. In practically every one of the colonies, membership in the cooperative has been mandatory. The colony cooperative not only operates as the purchasing agency through which most colonists do their buying; it also serves as the marketing agency through which practically all colony members sell their commodities.

The cooperative in each colony is in charge of industries such as the sawmill, cotton gin, vegetable oil extracting plant, and cattle ranches. Out of the earnings of the cooperatives, the colony's welfare program is provided. When hospital deficits occur, when the poor need to be taken care of, and when there are any general colony improvements to be made, the cooperative as the economic arm of the government assumes responsibility for providing the needed finances.

The cooperative likewise serves as the colony bank. When individuals sell their produce through the cooperative, their accounts are credited, and whenever they make purchases, their accounts are charged. In this way, the colony administration can rather effectively control the spending habits of colony members who may not be particularly good managers. Individuals and groups have again and again protested against this control and regulation of individual economic freedom and have either withdrawn or threatened to withdraw. But again and again, complaining members have been forced by economic

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circumstances to become members and participation in the cooperative venture becomes necessary in order to remain effective members of the community. The failure of members to cooperate has always been considered a threat to the welfare of the entire community. This was much more so in early days than it will likely be in the future since the survival of the group is no longer so completely dependent upon total cooperation.

When the Friesland colony was established in 1937, many among the members who were formerly from Fernheim, determined never to have anything to do with another cooperative. And at first Friesland did not have a cooperative. But after several years of operation under a system of costly individualism, it was forced to organize one in order to survive as a colony. It was not until the colony recognized the crucial importance of a cooperative, and set to work in earnest to develop one, that the colonists were able to again get on their feet financially. Through united action the colony was again able to buy and sell advantageously and to secure outside financial credit. In short, the members collectively could act as a responsible unit instead of as individual fragments.

The absence of cooperative economic enterprises in Paraguayan communities and non-Mennonite colonies illustrates again the difference in effectiveness of economic organization between Paraguayans and the Mennonite colonists. In the great majority of non-Mennonite colonies in Paraguay, the cooperative was seldom found. The colonies of Hohenau, Bella Vista, and Obligado did not have a cooperative until 1953. It was not until this time that these colonies really began to make rapid economic progress. After fifty years of struggle individually, they learned that by pooling their resources and working as a unit, they were able to improve their economic condition significantly. After 1953 the farmers began to get a reasonable return for the products which they labored so hard to produce.

A single illustration will make the point. The price received for tung oil rose from 18 guaranies per kilo in 1953 to 26 guaranies per kilo in 1954 and to 31 guaranies in 1955. Farmers not joining the co-op received 33 per cent less for their commodities than did the members. After the co-op was organized, the three colonies had better credit facilities, better purchasing

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power, and more favorable marketing capacities. It was also since then that they have been able to secure sufficient credit to develop manufacturing of yerba tea and the processing of tung oil. The Japanese colonies likewise are demonstrating the importance of cooperatives and the effective use of them.

In Mennonite colonies private enterprise is permitted but only if it does not threaten the welfare of the total group. In other words, individual ownership of means of production, other than in agriculture, has been rigidly controlled. It is permitted only if the colony can afford it; that is, if it does not feel threatened by the gain of an individual at the expense of the colony.

In many ways, the most important organization within the Mennonite colonies is the church. This is the agency which gives flavor and direction to the entire colony life. Without the church, of course, there would be no Mennonite colony. Mennonites, like other religious groups, would have no reason for existence without their faith and the organization which has been created to sustain it. Each of the colonies has at least one major church organization. In the Neuland, Friesland, and Volendam colonies, there are two major Mennonite church groups, and in Fernheim there are three. These various groups, however, cooperate for the most part in the activities of the colony. It is the churches which provide the colony idealism, the missionary motive for outreach, and the constant concern for ethical and moral welfare.

Since the Mennonites believe in voluntary church membership, they naturally do not coerce colony citizens to join the church. The percentage of colonists who are church members ranges widely from colony to colony. In most instances, the church is highly regarded as are its leaders, the ministers. Not only is the church concerned with the teaching and preaching ministry, but also with the moral behavior of its members. In some instances where there is violation of the legal and/or moral code, the church will assume responsibility for necessary disciplinary measures. Where such infractions involve non-church members, the colony administration generally takes the initiative in determining guilt and administering discipline.

Whether church members or not, all colony citizens are required to abide by the moral code of the colony which for all

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practical purposes is church approved. The church is the center of colony social life. The Sabbath is devoted to public worship, but almost equally important is the matter of fellowship of both old and young. A great deal of visiting occurs on Sundays. The same is true at weddings and funerals, which are really community-wide gatherings. It is around the church that social and cultural life revolves. Special services are scheduled in the church.

It is because of their comprehensive organization that Mennonite colonies may rightfully be called "model" colonies. They are self-sustaining and efficient group settlements. These political entities are assets rather than liabilities in the country of which they are a part. They produce more economic goods than they consume. The Paraguayan Government has no expense with law enforcement, tax collection, road construction or maintenance or provision for public utilities of any kind. Even the Chaco landing field was provided by the Frenheim Colony for the landing of Government owned regularly scheduled planes.

The sociologist sees modern man's basic needs being centered in six human institutions. They are: political, economic, religious, educational, recreational, and the family. These six basic institutions are found in each of the Mennonite colonies and some of these institutions are reasonably well developed in all of the successful colonies. Wherever the immigrant group settlements are self-governing, economically self-supporting, composed of closely knit family units, have good health services, adequate recreational and cultural outlets to meet their normal needs and organized religious life to define life's ultimate values and provide strength and comfort for the routine and the emergency situations of life, they are bound to make a positive contribution to the welfare of a country. Such is the situation in the most successful of the colonies of Paraguay.

9

Prospects for Future Settlement in Paraguay

THERE IS GENERAL agreement by Paraguayans that the country would benefit greatly from additional immigrants to their country. Officials of other governments who are residing temporarily in Paraguay either as public or privately employed individuals tend to agree that carefully selected immigrants could contribute significantly to the economic development of Paraguay. More than any other type of immigrants, Paraguay needs industrious agricultural settlers. There is more land area in the country of Paraguay than in the state of California, yet this small country has only a fraction of the population of the city of Los Angeles.

As stated in the first chapter, the country has over 100,000,000 acres of land, yet less than 1,000,000 acres of this total—or less than one per cent—was devoted to food production. Agricultural activity in Paraguay is largely confined to those sections of the country which are served by the country's limited rail and highway systems. In those sections where agricultural activity is carried on, centuries of intensive cultivation without benefit of cover crops, rotation, fertilization, and other modern farming methods have contributed to a gradual exhaustion of the soil. The millions of untilled acres in Paraguay await the coming of the skilled farmer. Neither the climate nor the soil is unfavorable to agricultural productiveness. A growing number of independent, middle-class farmers would be a boon to Paraguay.

Paraguay has had numerous immigrant settlement efforts. Unfortunately, most of these settlements were composed of opportunists rather than farmers by training or by inclination. Their feeble efforts at converting the virgin soils into productive farms were disappointing. Paraguay has been unable to attract great numbers of the kind of agricultural immigrants who have had the tenacity, the ruggedness of spirit, and the

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agricultural skills necessary to convert the underdeveloped country into productive farm land.

In discussing the future prospects for immigration and group settlement in Paraguay, it is the opinion of the writer that a first general requirement of the Government is an appreciation of the sociological factors and forces of colonization. It is insensitivity to the crucial importance of the sociological aspects of immigration and group settlement that has, in part, accounted for Paraguay's inability to attract or hold many of the right kind of immigrant settlers.

It is necessary to understand the social nature of human beings and of group behavior in order to know why people move from place to place, what holds them together in meaningful human relationships, and what causes them to persevere in the face of difficulty or to quickly surrender their group objectives. Lack of understanding and appreciation of these basic factors can be costly, as it has been in numerous instances in Paraguay where group settlement efforts were unsuccessfully made.

It is a point of interest to reflect on why the largest and most successful immigrant groups to Paraguay have not been peoples from other Latin background cultures but rather have been peoples from northern Europe and Asia, such as Germans and Japanese. People from these countries represent cultures that are in sharp contrast to the culture of Paraguay. The northern Europeans who have come to Paraguay, for instance, have had a predominantly Protestant religious background; they came from industrialized societies; they were accustomed to relatively high standards of living; they came from temperate climatic zones; their ethnic background was Anglo Saxon, Teutonic; and linguistically, they were chiefly German. The culture into which Paraguay's immigrants came was Latin, religiously, Roman Catholic, and occupationally, almost totally agricultural. The climate for the most part was torrid.

Normally people do not move voluntarily from one extreme set of cultural conditions to another. Generally, only extreme urgencies make people willing to transplant themselves permanently from one cultural milieu to another. The unusual or the daring individual may make a sharp cultural transition, but large groups of people when planning migrations tend to seek cultures as much like the ones they are used to as possible or

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at least ones in which they can recreate the institutions familiar to them.

Paraguay's largest and most successful colonists, the Mennonites, came to Paraguay for a combination of unusual reasons. There were forces pushing them out of their countries and forces pulling them toward Paraguay. The secularizing social forces in Canada and the Soviet revolutionary forces in Russia provided the "push"—the unconditional guarantees of political and religious freedoms of the Paraguayan Government provided the "pull" to Paraguay. This was the combination of unusual reasons accounting for Mennonites migrating to Paraguay. They would not have come, however, in spite of these unusual circumstances if they could not have come in groups and settled in closed communities.

Not all prospective immigrants want to settle in closed communities, but as long as such immigrants come from countries with sharply contrasting cultures, most of them will insist on establishing separate group settlements for the simple reason that this is the only way a foreign group of people in a new country with a strange culture can preserve its traditions, beliefs, and meaningful life values. They cannot give up all that is held sacred and valuable; otherwise they would probably not migrate in the first place. Migrations are made either to preserve something meaningful or to improve a way of life.

If Paraguay wishes to attract agricultural immigrants, she must permit them to settle in groups and must provide conditions necessary to encourage such immigration. This is because group settlements represent to migrants a way of preserving those life values which they hold dear. Meaningful values such as the religion, language, food, dress, manners, and customs of their culture can only be preserved if they are allowed to live in groups. Colonies constitute communities of like-minded people, and it is through communities that individuals are willing to face the insecurities and the strange, new experiences that come from moving into new countries and new cultures. A colony provides the cultural web that identifies the individual with his heritage in a socially meaningful way. By living in a colony, the immigrant who comes into a new country is able to live according to his basic beliefs, traditions, and customs and to live with others of like mind and behavior.

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A colony provides the sense of "we-feeling" which is so important to human beings in order to feel secure and comfortable in the face of new experiences and strange environments.

Adventuresome individuals may, here and there, shift from one extreme environment to another; but large groups when migrating tend to find cultures as much like their own as possible or at least if the culture is different, they seek to create within it the institutions with which they are familiar. Most of the countries of the world that have successfully attracted large numbers of immigrants have not merely tolerated group settlements, but have openly encouraged and welcomed them. The United States, Canada, Australia, Brazil, and Argentina illustrate historic examples where large blocks of population came from foreign countries and established distinct ethnic group settlements.

These foreign immigrant groups have formed cultural islands in the countries to which they migrated. In the United States and Canada, such groups were so numerous and varied and frequently found that they created genuine cultural mosaics. This was true in cities as well as in rural areas. Ethnic communities of Germans, Swedes, Poles, Italians, Russians, Dutch, Welsh, and English often settled side by side. Sometimes the relationships were congenial, at other times strained and unpleasant.

It is important to note here that many immigrants would likely not have ventured to Paraguay had they not been permitted to come as ethnic groups. Given the geographical location and the history it has, Paraguay will likely not attract immigrants to its shores in large numbers unless it permits group settlements and makes group settlement attractive in its country. In addition to the geographically isolated position of Paraguay, its history of political instability, and its generally undeveloped characteristics, Paraguay also has a tradition of defeat so far as colonization is concerned. The many immigration efforts that have been unsuccessful have given Paraguay a reputation as an unattractive land for prospective new settlers. It is thus of special importance that Paraguay puts forth extra effort to develop a national immigration policy to attract prospective agricultural colonists.

Colonization is an ethnic group's means of absorbing cul-

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tural shock and of achieving cultural self-preservation. Most people seek meaningful membership in groups larger than their own families. If it is not in the tribe or the kinship group, it is in the neighborhood or in the community. European or Asiatic groups settling in Paraguay find their culture in sharp contrast to the prevailing culture. They thus see themselves set off and distinct from the nationals. Not understanding the language of the country in which they live, not appreciating the customs which they see, not enjoying the food which they may have to eat, nor being attracted to the religious practices and beliefs of the country in which they live, all tend to give the colonist a sense of strangeness. All that seems meaningful to him seems threatened by the new environment around him.

The life of his own people, in these circumstances, becomes all the more meaningful to him. His language, his customs, his religion, his ways of doing things all seem to him to be the "right" way. The customs of the people in the land of which he has become a part are still new and strange and difficult to accept. Membership in his own group, therefore, enables him to live in a strange country with a minimum of direct shock and confusion. Membership in the cultural group provides a kind of cushion to the cultural shock which the immigrant undergoes. He can work and play and worship and intermarry with his own group. This is to say, he can satisfy his most basic social and biological needs in a culture with which he is familiar.

Colonies that are permitted or even encouraged to establish their own educational systems, to organize their own religious societies, to perpetuate their own customs while at the same time becoming established economically feel much less threatened and much more at home in a new world. In the course of decades and generations, such immigrants begin to learn the language, observe the customs, and even begin to appreciate some aspects of the new culture. Gradually they begin to adopt such customs as are practical for their own use. They begin to have more frequent social contacts with the natives around them. This is what the sociologist calls the accommodation process. Members of immigrant groups need this gradual orientation to their new country in order to be spiritually and socially satisfied. Most people require time for adjustment

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to social change. Rapid changes tend to disorganize individuals and to create personal confusion and unhappiness.

Factors affecting the degree and speed of accommodation are varied. The degree of cultural difference of the interacting groups, the objectives of the interacting groups, the degree of geographical and social isolation of the groups, as well as the degree of social cohesion within any particular group are important factors in determining how rapidly different cultural groups may integrate. In Paraguay, for instance, Spanish or Italian immigrants would tend to assimilate much more rapidly than would Germans.

Difference in the conservatism of the groups would also be a factor. The conservative Mennonite settlers who came to Paraguay from Canada have tended to preserve a higher degree of social isolation than the Mennonites who came from Russia. In the case of the latter, a high percentage of the colonists are interested in learning the Spanish language and communicating with their Spanish-speaking neighbors, whereas in the more conservative groups, there is no desire to have a great deal of contact with the Paraguayan people. The amount of social contact and business relations that people have with each other is likewise a factor in determining the rate of integration.

From the study of the numerous immigrant group settlement efforts made in Paraguay, it seems justifiable to conclude that the absence of a strong sense of group-mindedness accounted for the short life of some of the settlement efforts. Had the groups been more integrated and ethnically stronger, they probably would not have been so quickly and completely discouraged as to forsake their settlement efforts. The cultural shock which they experienced seems to have hastened the disintegration of the colony and to have left no desire for continuing in the group. Those who left seem to have implied that anything, although uncertain, in the future was likely to be better than an intolerable present.

By this time it is evident that the immigrant groups in Paraguay that succeeded to the greatest extent were those who settled in cohesive social groups. This same experience has been true in other immigrating countries such as Brazil, Ar-

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gentina, the United States, and Canada, all of which absorbed large numbers of immigrant groups.¹

Paraguay, as a country, has been exceptionally generous in the social and religious freedoms it has granted its immigrant groups. Those who came to Paraguay to find political and religious freedom have done so. There has been no evidence of interference whatever with those who came to Paraguay under promise of guaranteed religious, social and economic privileges. However, the large majority of prospective settlers from the overcrowded countries of Europe and Asia might be more interested in economic opportunities than in religious freedom.

Colonization is the immigrant's protection against individual and collective disorganization. In colonies with primary group characteristics, individual violation of law or the moral code is not only detected sooner than it would be in a larger society, but is also corrected more promptly. The reason is that misbehavior on the part of the members of an organized group becomes a threat to the group's welfare and it acts immediately to correct such a threat. The various Mennonite colonies in Paraguay as well as the German colonies in the eastern part of the country illustrate how by means of the highly organized colony life there is effective control over deviant behavior. In the colonies under question, the author found after careful inquiry that there was comparatively little lawlessness of any kind. Murder is practically unheard of, stealing is very rare, and moral offenses occur only at infrequent intervals.

An illustration of how individuals who deviate from the normal behavior pattern of the colony are dealt with is given in the following case. In the early years of one of the Chaco colonies, a man was found guilty of incest. He was taken to the colony headquarters and given a sound thrashing with a leather belt by members of the colony administration. In addition he was required to work several weeks on road improve-

¹Smith, *Brazil, People and Institutions*, *op. cit.*, pp., 530-581.

See also: Dawson, C. A., *Group Settlements: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936).

See also: Handlin, Oscar, *Immigration as a Factor in American History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959).

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ment. Following this he was sent home to his family and told to go back to work and behave himself. This individual was successfully reintegrated into his own family and into the community as a whole. The man discovered that his neighbors were aware of his deviant behavior and acted to correct him and to protect the violated member of his family as well as maintain the moral standards of the colony. The individual was not excommunicated; he was not ignored; he was corrected and restored to a full place in his society although undoubtedly with a stigma attached to his reputation.

Recently in several of the Chaco colonies there were two instances where boys drove their trucks at excessive speeds through herds of cattle which Paraguayans were driving along a road between two colonies. In both instances there were injuries to the men driving the cattle and in several instances to the horses and mules of the herdsmen. The government officials upon learning of the incident contacted the colony leaders, who immediately assumed responsibility for apprehending the offenders and seeing that punishment was administered and restitution made for damages. Had there been no colony organization, there would have been no collective sense of responsibility for apprehending the offenders and certainly punishment would have been delayed because the individuals would have been more difficult to apprehend.

The low record of social offenses—in fact the almost total absence of public offenses in these colonies—compared with the country as a whole—would suggest that organized colony life is a rather effective means of securing conventional behavior. Crime in the colonies is almost as nonexistent as it is within the family. The higher incidence of deviant behavior in the city of Asuncion among former colony members supports the hypothesis that group settlement reduces or greatly limits personal disorganization.

Among colonists who have left the colonies and gone to Asuncion the incidence of deviancy in behavior is considerably higher. While some of the deviants may have fled from the colonies to the cities in order to escape detection, most Mennonites who go to the cities are not of this type. In the case of working girls in Asuncion who have become involved in

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immorality and disorganized behavior, at least some had unquestionably high standards and were conformists while living in the colony. The disorganizing influences of the city undoubtedly contributed to their breakdown and gradual disorganization. Such instances suggest the power of the primary group to exercise control over the behavior of its members and at the same time suggests the shattering effect that individualism, the anonymity, excitement, and constant stimulation has on a person newly come to the city and unable to cope with her disorganizing influences.

While records were not as readily available in all colonies, it appears, upon preliminary investigation, that among German and Japanese colonies in Paraguay, the incidence of personal disorganization is very low. Organized group life in colonies tends to result in responsible living. The same sociological factors that produce social cohesion and conformity in well organized families are also found in well organized colonies.

Just as sociologists can point out what social factors contribute to happy family life and what characteristics tend to threaten family life, so, too, can they point out with confidence what factors contribute to success or failure of group settlements. In groups where the social backgrounds are similar, where the education of the members is relatively uniform, where religious beliefs, and practices are held in common, where social relationships are carried on within the same group, where membership in organizations is relatively identical, where individuals have common interests and carry on common activities, and have a common background of experience, there is every evidence that members feel a sense of identification and loyalty to one another. All of these common views, interests, and experiences contribute to the building of socially cohesive communities.

The sum and substance of such community relations results in strong social groups. It is this sense of belonging as a member of a group that helps the individual to overcome personal difficulties and feel a sense of strength as a member of a group. The individual not only feels personally protected and guarded against hazards and uncertainties but he feels the sense of compulsion to make a contribution to the total welfare of the group. Thus there is interaction between the group as a whole

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and its constituent members. Again, it must be pointed out that the absence of such a sense of unity in some of Paraguay's colonization efforts contributed to their weakness, their decline, and in many cases, their ultimate extinction.

Settlement in ethnic groups is a greater national economic asset than a liability. There are those in Paraguay, especially the native Paraguayans, who are disappointed that many of the colonists do not assimilate more rapidly with the people around them. If there is one repeatedly made criticism of foreign groups by Paraguayans, it is their reluctance to socialize freely and to assimilate rapidly. Some Paraguayans feel that unless immigrants want to assimilate they should not come to Paraguay. This is not the feeling of the great majority, but it does suggest the dissatisfaction on the part of a sizable number of Paraguayans with colonists' failure to integrate.

From a sociological standpoint, rapid integration of the foreign groups might actually be undesirable since there is no genuine psychological and sociological basis for integration. Individuals coming from sharply differing cultures would have nothing but physical attraction in common. This is not to argue against social interaction. It is to point out that intermarriage between individuals with sharply differing cultures is sociologically undesirable. Certainly strong families could not be built where there is no common language, no common religion, no common standards of domestic life, few common interests or experiences, and in brief, situations where couples would have far more differences than things in common. Such marriages if they were to be consummated could only result in constant conflicts, frustrations and ultimately in disorganization and possibly divorce.

Despite sharp cultural differences between immigrant colonists and Paraguayans, the many colonization efforts—both successful and unsuccessful—seem to have contributed more to the national welfare of Paraguay than they have cost. Paraguay, as a nation, has spent practically nothing to attract and settle its colonists so that even the failures were not occasions for economic losses except as losses of potential contributors to the national economy. The agricultural production of these colonies over the years has amounted to millions of dollars worth of internally consumed and exported goods. Whether

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the goods were consumed within the country or exchanged for foreign currency, it has been of benefit to the country by virtue of Paraguay's national shortage of food.

An illustration of the asset which colonies can be to the country can be found in the three Chaco colonies. In 1958, these colonies produced and sold over a million dollars worth of goods. They in turn purchased and imported to the colonies three-fourths of a million dollars worth of merchandise. Hence there is a quarter million dollar net excess of production over consumption in these three colonies in a single year. When one thinks of the sum total of the foreign group settlements in Paraguay over the past fifty years, the point will become clear that the colonies have been a considerable asset to the national economy. Thus from the standpoint of Paraguay as a nation, despite the fact that ethnic groups do not become an integral part of the social fabric of the country as rapidly as some might wish, they still contribute significantly to the economy and the culture of the country far in excess of what they cost.

In addition to the economic and social factors, one must also point out that from the various immigrant groups over the past century have come many of Paraguay's national business and political leaders. A long list of men in the affairs of the national government have come from non-Paraguayan stock. Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and some Englishmen have contributed significantly to the leadership ability of the country as a whole. To mention a few, Mr. Stroessner, the President of Paraguay; Mr. Storm, the president of the Bank of Paraguay; Dr. Buettner, the former National Secretary of Education; and leaders in business, industry and the professions in Asuncion. As the country's educational system develops and many of its institutions both public and private continue to flower, the nation will benefit from nationals and immigrants alike.

All colonists in time become assimilated with the major aspects of the national culture. Cultural assimilation is in one sense inevitable. The question ultimately is not whether immigrant groups will be assimilated, but rather at what rate assimilation will take place. For some colonists the process seems to be proceeding at too slow a rate; for others at too rapid a rate. The ardent Paraguayan nationalist feels that assimilation should

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take no longer than the first generation; the ardent colonist, who is deeply identified with his group's culture and religious values, hopes that assimilation will really never take place. As in most things, neither of these extremes can be satisfied. There is a point of compromise. Assimilation will take place but at a more moderate rate than either extreme hopes for.

One cannot conceive of a minority group living in a given culture and being totally unaffected by it. Environment always affects the habits, customs, traditions and institutions of those living within it whether they are members of a minority or a majority sector of a particular society. The question is one of the rate of assimilation and at what points and in what manner, the process takes place.

The rate of accommodation of colonists to the national culture in Paraguay depends on such factors as the natural and physical environment, the political philosophy reflected in the country's laws, the economic conditions, and the general cultural aspirations of the country. Likewise, the rate is affected by the aims and objectives of the country with regard to the nationalization of its subjects.

These same factors are in operation with regard to the colonies. If the over-all ideals and objectives of country and colony are not in conflict, the rate of accommodation leading to assimilation is much more rapid than when they are in sharp disagreement. The rate of accommodation is also dependent on the amount of social interaction. Where colonists and nationals mix freely and constantly, speak the same language, attend the same functions, are educated in the same schools, attend the same churches, participate in the same political processes, and live in the same neighborhoods, there is bound to be a more rapid rate of assimilation than where colonists live in social isolation or geographical separation from the main stream of the society's population.

In Paraguay, the German colonists have been slower to assimilate than such groups as the Italians and the Polish. And yet comparisons must be made cautiously because Germans have been much more numerous and their colonies much larger than those of the Italian and Polish groups. The German language and cultural value system have also been in sharper contrast to that of the Paraguayans than is the case

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with Italians, Spaniards, or Polish people. Yet as second and third generation German colonists have learned to speak the Spanish language, have attended the same elementary and secondary schools, and participated in the same social life in the community and oftentimes in the same work, the rate of interaction has been high and assimilation has taken place rapidly.

The colonists have tended to characterize Paraguayans as easy-going and failing to plan for the future. They tend to feel that the poor economic and social conditions of Paraguayans are oftentimes due to failure to take advantage of the opportunities that have come to them.

To the immigrants that have been trained throughout their lives to be industrious, hardworking, thrifty, and austere in their personal living, the Paraguayan seems carefree, and inclined not to worry about the future. To the Paraguayan, however, the immigrant seems always to be in a hurry, working hard, and never having time for leisure. These two views reflect basic differences in philosophy and contrasting cultural backgrounds which have been developed through many generations. To develop common understanding and cultures which are mutually agreeable will require additional generations.

Such sharp contrasts in moral and spiritual values make it difficult to think of colonists integrating rapidly and intimately with native Paraguayans. Mutual toleration of differences in behavior patterns and social values are the only way in which such contrasting groups can congenially live side by side. Too rapid integration would only end in conflicts and disappointments.

In the long run, the immigrant colonists must expect gradually to conform to the ways of the majority rather than assume that the majority will reverse its traditional culture patterns and conform to the ways of the immigrants. However, it is a two-way cultural transition; the immigrant conforms slowly and gradually to some aspects of his new culture and the native population tends to take on some of the customs and character of the immigrant. Thus they tend to grow, if not to a common likeness, at least to a common understanding so that

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the social distance and dissimilarity gradually declines.²

On the basis of observation of extremely isolated colonies, it seems that after a period of years of isolation there is manifest longing for increased outside contacts. There seems to have developed a desire for fresh, new social interaction. One observes this in the conservative Menno colony in the Chaco which came to Paraguay to isolate itself from the world. Some of these colonists had at one time been a part of the larger national culture of the countries from which they came.

While they may have sought escape, isolation, and separation from a secular society as a way of preserving their own group values and a certain measure of freedom and peace from the ceaseless striving of the world, they tend, nevertheless, to become bored with themselves over a long period of time. This boredom is sometimes reflected in internal wrangling and conflicts which in turn give rise to internal splits and result in the formation of additional minorities. Extremely isolated colonies tend in the course of time to seek out the larger society and, in various degrees, become identified with the culture and the social pace of the environment in which they live. This is merely to say that the colonies which maintain extreme isolation during the early days of settlement in a new country do not necessarily remain permanently isolated, although if they did, they would not necessarily be a threat to the national solidarity of the country.

The Need for a National Colonization Policy

Paraguay could well afford to study certain aspects of Brazil's colonization and settlement history. What are called "The Critical Years—the 1870's" in Brazil's colonization experience, are well worth considering.³ This was a time in her history when she had to account for the haphazard manner in which colonization activity had proceeded up to that time. A num-

²Romans 12:2, "Be not conformed to this world," is a constant reminder that the Scriptures teach Christians always to be conscious of a difference between them and a secular society.

³T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: *People and Institutions* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947), Chapter XVII, "Colonization and Settlement," pp. 530-581.

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ber of thorough investigations of Brazil's colonization policies were instigated as a result of severe criticisms which the country had been receiving by way of adverse publicity in foreign countries from which the early immigrants had come. The investigations resulted in many improvements both in planning and administering the country's immigration and colonization program.

The most important of the studies was one which resulted in the report to the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Public Works entitled "These about Colonization in Brazil." A 429 page volume, the study systematically examined the deficiencies in Brazil's program of colonization and made recommendations for its improvement.⁴ The author noted that Argentina and the United States were more successful than Brazil in attracting immigrants. He set forth the following as defects in his country's colonization theory and practice and then proceeded in a detailed analysis of each of the defects listed.

1. "The lack of liberty of conscience; the nonexistence of civil marriage as an institution; imperfections of education; ignorance and immorality of the clergy; the ambition of the Brazilian Episcopate for temporal power. . . ."

2. Lack of educational institutions and principally the absence of agricultural and professional instruction.

3. The small number of institutions of credit, especially of banks designed to aid small farming and industry.

4. Restrictions and hindrances placed upon industrial freedom by legislation and public administration. . . .

5. Defects in the law concerning contracting of services and share contracts with foreigners; and the lack of land tax upon lands lacking buildings and cultivation.

6. Lack of transportation systems and ways of communication, that would link the center and the interior of the Empire to consumer and export markets.

7. The creation of colonies far from markets on sterile, unprepared land, as well as the lack of facilities for receiving immigrants and colonists at the ports. . . .

8. The failure to make Brazil known in the countries from which the emigration which we need proceeds and to refute, by all means of a readily understood publicity, . . . the writings

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 551.

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by means of which in those states we are depreciated, our errors in relation to the emigrants exaggerated, and hateful calumnies raised against us.”⁵

This study and report are said to have done much to cause improvement in Brazil's immigration and colonization policies. Efforts were made to correct almost every one of the indicated deficiencies. No other country in Latin America has had as large and successful a colonization and immigration program as has Brazil. This resulted in the mounting importance of the small farming class in the country's total population, and its emphasis can hardly be overestimated. It was the way in which the large landed estates were divided into small family farms, thus transforming much of the agricultural pattern of southern Brazil. Smith says:

“The significance of this development is not to be measured solely in terms of the greatly increased production of foodstuffs and raw materials, and the substitution of diversified agriculture for monoculture, that it brings about. These are all tremendously important, but probably even more so is the rapidity with which there is being created a middle class in Brazilian society. The children from these farm families are becoming leading spirits in the industrialization that is progressing on a small scale through the small towns and cities of south Brazil, and on a considerable scale in cities like Sao Paulo and Porto Alegre. . . . Although the building of a middle class stems largely from the establishment of small-farm society in Brazil, it has already resulted in profound changes in the class structure of even the largest cities.”⁶

Another significant effect of the widespread distribution of land ownership and control which has resulted from successful agricultural settlements in Brazil has been a rise in the general standard and level of living. This point is impressively made when areas affected by colonization are compared with those which no colonists entered. By way of summarizing the significance of private ownership resulting from colonization, Smith says:

“One might multiply the details, but it would all add up to

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 551-552, quoting Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Colonizacao no Brazil*, pp. 31-32.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 531.

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the fact that the development of a class of small farmers, and the consequent rise in the proportion and strength of the middle classes in south Brazil, is one of the more significant forces now pushing Brazil to the front among the nations of the western hemisphere. It should be called to mind, however, that the recent political and governmental changes in Brazil have come from the south. Furthermore, these developments represent a change in kind; they are not merely revolutions of the type that substitute one clique of rulers for another of the same type.⁷

For Paraguay to achieve somewhat similar results or at least results heading in this direction, it will be necessary for the country to take a serious look at its colonization policy in order to overcome the weaknesses that have dogged it during the past century. It, like all Latin American countries, has vast, rich, and unoccupied lands. But as Samuel Guy Inman has pointed out, it also has certain unfavorable conditions making it unattractive to immigrants or other newcomers, such as immense private landholdings, isolation from markets, poor rural educational facilities, low sanitation standards, and a tradition of political instability.⁸

Paraguay has recognized the importance of colonization, but she has not yet created conditions which have made colonization attractive to many immigrants from other nations. In Paraguay, as in Brazil, colonization is by far the most significant of the ways by which a large number of self-reliant, middle-class farm families in a diversified agricultural program have been established. Colonization of immigrants has attracted a substantial number of small farmers who are equipped materially, physically, and culturally for the successful operation of a family-farm type of agriculture. The improvement of opportunities and the strengthening of incentives to attract additional immigrants is necessary in order to strengthen Paraguay's agricultural population which is the backbone of an emerging nation's economy.

If immigrants are to be persuaded to leave their homeland and migrate to Paraguay rather than to other countries bidding

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 532.

⁸Samuel Guy Inman, "Refugee Settlement in Latin America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, May 1939, p. 137.

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for them, they must be challenged by the possibility of rewards equal to their sacrifices. A country wanting immigrants must try to attract them by way of creating favorable laws, favorable economic conditions, and, in general, provide the kind of opportunities immigrants are looking for.

An American economist in Paraguay told the author that he felt the basic economic problem of Paraguay was that of increasing the gross national product. At present it is increasing at a slower rate than is the population. He felt the primary need of Paraguay was the development of a national agricultural policy which would stimulate all phases of agricultural production. Minimum requirements for improving Paraguay agriculturally are considered in the following paragraphs.

First, improved land-use and land-tenure patterns. Ownership of land is difficult in many parts of Paraguay because clear titles to land are often difficult if not impossible to secure. A land title office needs to be organized with a clearly established procedure for getting titles to land in an orderly way without cumbersome litigation, delay, or great expense. Uncertainty of tenure because of a poor land title system makes any wise immigrant farmer reluctant to develop land which he is not sure of clearly owning. A great many of the legal difficulties and even some crimes in Paraguay are due to disputes over property ownership.

Another major needed improvement in Paraguay is the expanded opportunity for exporting farm products. Increased exports would mean cash income for the farmers and would at the same time help Paraguay. In the recent past, Paraguayan exports have been taxed about as heavily as imports. This has discouraged both production and exporting. Even as late as 1958 when some of the colonies exported cotton, the export tax was 23 per cent of the value. Since both exports and imports have been traditionally taxed, smuggling has been subtly encouraged. This is, of course, circumventing the law, but it is one way of getting what Paraguayans want and which they should not have to circumvent the law to achieve. Fortunately, there are evidences of improvement of national economic conditions, and the government is making strides toward correcting some of these earlier economic obstructions.

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Of great importance was the establishing of the free market in Paraguay. This was brought about in part as a result of Paraguay's signed agreement with the International Monetary Fund. The acceptance of the free market was necessary in order to bring Paraguay into the international stabilization program. In August of 1957, the Paraguayan government accepted this program in order to curb inflation and eliminate some of the disequilibrium in its international balance of payments. Previously, inflation often had been caused by the issuing of paper currency whenever the demand for money arose and the supply was short. Since Paraguay joined the International Monetary Fund, much greater national financial stability has resulted. It was the opinion of a United States bank official in Paraguay that Paraguay had a more stable currency from 1957-1959 than any of the other Latin American countries. The benefit of monetary stability is reflected in the increased number of foreign industries and businesses that have expressed interest in coming into Paraguay as a result. Likewise, the foreign trade of the country has continued to improve.

The Development Loan Fund gave Paraguay a \$7,000,000 loan in 1958 which would undoubtedly not have been given had Paraguay not become a member of this international economic improvement program. In order to become a part of the program, Paraguay was required to abolish many of its controls on trade, to accept the free market for foreign exchange, and to establish a credit ceiling for loans to the government from the central Bank of Paraguay.

Another needed major improvement is that of the internal agricultural credit system. In 1957, the total credit extended by the government to farmers amounted to only 8 per cent of the gross value of agricultural production in Paraguay. In the more highly developed countries, the standard is about 30 per cent. Not only has credit for farmers been inadequate but all too often the Bank of Paraguay has been riddled by graft and hampered by a host of inspectors, many being mere political appointees having no qualifications for their jobs.

An illustration of the inadequacy of agricultural credit in one of the colonies may be cited.

The law of 1958 theoretically provided 2500 guaranies (G's) for each cultivated acre of land. This money was intended

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as financial credit to farmers for seed, fertilizer, labor and harvesting costs. The colony in question wishing to avail itself of the credit applied for 4,500,000 G's, one-half of the amount it was entitled to apply. The application for the loan was made in September but it was not acted on until six months later when the harvest was already in progress. When the loan was actually approved, it was for only 1,500,000 guaranies or one-third of the amount asked for. A lawyer's fee of 50,000 G's and interest charges of 33,000 G's still further reduced the amount of available credit. To add to the frustration of the colonists who were depending on the loan, the repayments were to be made in three installments and the first one was due at the very time the loan was being made.

It is obvious that this incident reflects the problem of inadequate credit facilities of the Paraguayan farmer. The delay in granting this particular loan, and the fractional loan that was ultimately made, emphasize the country's shortage of financial support for a wholesome and vigorous agricultural program.

In summary, one can say that the prospects for future immigration and group settlements in Paraguay are directly related to the kind of a national policy the country will develop to attract and assist desirable immigrants. To compete successfully with other Latin American countries for the best immigrant prospects, Paraguay will need to develop the kind of attractive opportunities that will enable prospective settlers to improve their present social and economic conditions.

In Conclusion

IN REFLECTING on the sociology of Paraguay's past experience with immigration and group settlement certain summary statements come easily to the fore.

First, Paraguay has not been a great immigration country. The total number of foreigners to enter the country throughout its entire history has been exceedingly small. Records indicate that the total number of immigrants for the past century, even with the most liberal estimates would probably not be over 75,000. This figure would include consideration of those who entered the country without benefit of legal registration. This would mean an annual average of 750 immigrants of all kinds both those coming in groups and as individuals. This number while significant in some respects, was still not important in effecting great immediate changes in the nation's history and culture.

Although this number of immigrants is small, it has probably been in keeping with the immigration experience of such other Latin American Countries as Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru. These countries have not been known as attractive lands for foreign immigrants. By comparison with such neighboring countries as Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, however, Paraguay's immigration record is weak both numerically and in terms of the cultural impact immigrants made on the country.

Second, those immigrants coming to Paraguay which have had the greatest impact on the country came in groups, for the most part as ethnic bodies. These groups practically all began in Paraguay as agricultural settlers. The Germans and the Mennonites with their Dutch ethnic origin, but strong German cultural characteristics, and more recently the Japanese, have constituted the largest and most important immigrant group settlements in Paraguay. It is significant to note that Paraguay has attracted few immigrants of Latin origin such as Italians, Portuguese or Spaniards. This is a sociologically significant fact. Immigrants with a Latin cultural background would have assim-

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lated much more rapidly into the national life of the country than did those with a non-Latinic background.

Third, a significant number of the immigrant groups in Paraguay seem to have been attracted by the undeveloped agricultural frontier offered by the country on the one hand and by the almost complete religious, social and political freedom offered to agricultural immigrants who were willing to settle in remote regions of the country. Nineteenth Century settlements like Nueva Germania and Nueva Australia were established as utopian social enterprises. The founders of these colonies welcomed the kind of isolation in undeveloped agricultural lands which Paraguay offered. This was also true of the first Mennonite settlement, Colony Menno in the Chaco. Paraguay's exceedingly generous guarantees of religious, social and political freedom and its isolated geographical setting as well as underdeveloped economic condition were the very factors which attracted some of her immigrant groups.

It must be said, however, that the latter factors namely, geographical isolation and economic underdevelopment, did not attract, but rather repelled, the latter Mennonite settlements of Fernheim, Friesland, Neuland and Volendam. These groups came because of the freedoms guaranteed them and because of the establishment of one Mennonite colony already in Paraguay, and they came as refugees — exiles — displaced people with no other choice. That is, no other countries would admit them in groups as they were and under the conditions of religious freedom, exemption from military service and the right to settle in closed communities. Paraguay was unique in its openness to admitting idealistic groups for agricultural settlements in the second quarter of the Twentieth Century.

Fourth, a point of social significance in Paraguay's immigration and colonization experience is the exceedingly fine spirit that has characterized the relationships between the various immigrants both as individuals and as cultural groups. This writer does not recall discovering a single incident in which conflicts were recorded between native Paraguayans and immigrants. Undoubtedly there were situations where social tensions prevailed and misunderstandings existed but they never seem to

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have been of such a pronounced nature that they were anywhere defined as social problems. The immigrants were frequently disgusted with the hardships of frontier life and with the hopelessness of progress in their undertakings but they did not blame these difficulties on their Paraguayan neighbors.

The Paraguayan people have been gracious hosts to newcomers. They have befriended them and taught them skills necessary to the ways and customs of the land. They have been willing to learn new techniques and accept new social values from their immigrant neighbors. They seem to have been grateful for any blessings the newcomers brought by way of employment opportunities, new industries and businesses and mechanical devices that helped reduce the burdens of everyday living. While a majority of the Paraguayans seem to have looked up to most immigrants and have expressed a desire to integrate more rapidly and completely than most of the immigrants are willing to do, reluctance on the part of the immigrants to assimilate has not resulted in bitterness and excessive resentments. This fact is a strong point with regard to future immigration. Immigrants to Paraguay seem nowhere and at no time to have suffered the opposition, ridicule and outright hostility that immigrants received in the United States in the early part of the Twentieth Century.

Fifth, in this summary it would be only fair to focus attention on the future of Paraguay's immigration and colonization possibilities as well as on its past. This author believes a case can be made for immigration to Paraguay with the reasonable assurance of considerably greater success in the century ahead than it experienced in the century just passed.

In a sense Paraguay is no longer isolated geographically or culturally as she once was. In this century of mass communication, air travel and international economic, political and cultural co-operation, no country needs to be, and in a sense can be, isolated. Paraguay is centrally located in South American so as to be at the crossroads of air travel routes in every direction of the compass. Her recently improved airport can accommodate jet planes. The flying time from New York City to Asunicon is approximately ten hours. Travel is convenient and rapid by air from

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Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo in the northeast; from Lima and La Paz in the northwest; from Santiago in the southwest from Buenos Aires and Montevideo in the south and southeast. All of these, once distant points from Asuncion, are today but a few hours flying time away.

Similarly, the rapidly improved highway system within Paraguay is helping to open the rural areas to agricultural and economic development by encouraging increasing rural population distribution and by making possible the transportation of farm products to urban markets where hitherto isolated rural populations could not profitably market their cereal crops, dairy products and meats. Not only is Paraguay developing an inland transportation system she is seeing that these trunk highways connect with trunk highways of neighboring countries. The two outstanding examples are the highway from Asuncion through eastern Paraguay which connects with a national highway through Brazil and to the free port of Paranagua on the Atlantic Ocean. The other is the Trans-Chaco Highway which for the first time opens the vast underdeveloped areas of the Chaco and at the same time opens the Paraguayan-Bolivian border for trade and commerce in a meaningful way.

A point of great importance in Paraguay's favor so far as future prospects for immigration and colonization is concerned are the indications, in recent years, that the Paraguayan Government is alligning itself with those national policies which seem to spell out increasing economic and political stability. A few general illustrations will give substance to the point. Within the past five years the national currency of Paraguay has been among the most stable of all the Latin American currencies. The Government has officially identified itself with the Organization of American States and with other organizations designed to advance economic improvements through international financial organizations. These organizations provide not only needed monetary funds but they provide, in fact require, as a condition of receiving funds, the willingness to use expert counsel with regard to the long-time use of such funds. Furthermore, the participation in such international cooperative ventures tends to develop better mutual understanding and international harmony in areas other than the economic.

It is true that Paraguay is criticized for its failure to make

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as many changes in its political system as its critics might wish. But it must be remembered that Paraguay has made tremendous progress within the past two decades. A country with a history of centuries of isolation cannot be transformed overnight. The important point to remember is the objectives the country has set for itself in the future and the direction it has been moving in the recent past and is continuing to move at present. Paraguay has accepted the generous help of the United States Point Four aid and has used it effectively to redirect its national goals in the areas of national economic planning, food production, raising of health standards and the re-examination and redesigning of its national educational system.

Of significance to immigrant groups who are concerned with religious and political freedom as well as with economic opportunities, it should be pointed out in clear tones that Paraguay has honored its guarantees of such freedoms to its adopted citizens, like the Mennonite colonists, scrupulously. This fact, in the eyes of the world, must naturally evoke respect and admiration for the Paraguayan Government and its people. Few things are as damaging to a country's reputation as a record of broken promises and few things guarantee high regard for a country as does a record of moral commitments firmly kept.

It is the contention of this writer that the hypotheses with which this study began have in the main been substantiated. This study was undertaken with the assumption that in order to attract immigrant groups to Paraguay it would be necessary to see that certain conditions were fulfilled. To the extent that conditions are similar in other Latin American countries to those in Paraguay, the same suppositions will likely hold true. Paraguay will attract immigrant settlers in significant numbers, and as long as existing conditions prevail, if immigrants are permitted to enter Paraguay and settle in cohesive groups.

This major hypothesis seems to this writer to be amply supported by the evidence found in this volume. Where a country does not offer strong economic attractions to individual immigrants it must offer reasonably attractive counter offers to groups on the assumption that individuals will find their interests represented and satisfied through the groups of which they are

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members. Within an intimate and meaningful group the majority of individuals are able to face new cultural situations, and make social adjustments in a satisfactory way. The social group serves as buffer of cultural shock and as a screen for evaluating new social practices to the individual. Ultimately both the individual, and the group of which he is a part, tend to accommodate to the language, the customs and to the national culture in which they find themselves. In this way the differentiating social customs of ethnic groups tend in the course of time to be merged into the general national cultural fabric. While external cultural differences remain, those differences which tend to cause social conflict in time largely disappear. From a standpoint of national policy, therefore, group immigration may be thought of as a means to an end rather than an end in itself.

It is a genuine source of satisfaction to this writer to be able to conclude this study with a positive note. The record of Paraguay's experience with many immigrant groups is such that one might at times have felt it necessary to be pessimistic about the future of such ventures. In my earlier book, appearing under the title *Pilgrims in Paraguay*, the conclusions were generally positive and optimistic. That volume was written ten years ago. The ensuing decade confirmed my optimism and enables me to conclude this volume with additional confidence based on events in the past decade plus the present indications as to Paraguay's future.

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<i>Number</i>	
<i>Asuncion Area</i>	<i>Name of Settlement</i>
1.	Nuevo Bordeaux
2.	Lincolnshire
3.	Neuva Italia
4.	Colonia Elisa
5.	San Bernardino
6.	La Colmena
<i>Alto Paraguay</i>	
7.	Trinacria
8.	Chingui and Rosa Loma
9.	Teutonia or Horqueta
10.	Primaveria
11.	Nueva Germania
12.	Friesland
13.	Volendam
14.	Pedro Juan Caballero
<i>Villarricia</i>	
15.	Independencia
16.	Carlos Pfannl
17.	Sudetia
18.	Nueva Australia
<i>Alto Parana</i>	
19.	Hohenau
20.	Capitan Meza
21.	Obligado
22.	Bella Vista
23.	Jesus and Trinidad
24.	Fram
25.	Alborada
26.	Frederico Chaves
27.	San Miguel
28.	Cambyreta
<i>Caaguazu</i>	
29.	Bergthal
30.	Sommerfeld
<i>The Chaco</i>	
31.	Menno
32.	Fernheim
33.	Neuland

Map Showing Location of Group Settlements in Paraguay



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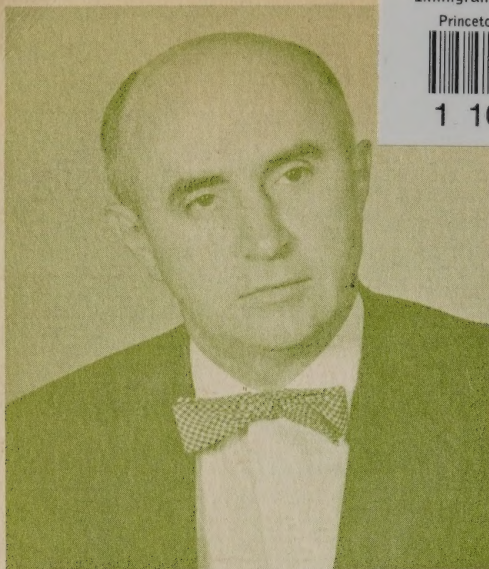
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During a leave of absence in 1944 and 1945 he studied problems of rehabilitation and colonization throughout the United States, Canada and Mexico. In 1951, under the auspices of the Mennonite Central Committee and a grant from the Social Science Research Council Dr. Fretz made a sociological analysis of the first twenty-five years of Mennonite colonization effort in lower South America. From this study emerged an earlier book, *Pilgrims in Paraguay*. In 1958 he was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship and a Fulbright Research Grant to continue his sociological investigations on immigration and colonization in Paraguay.